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The participatory development of materials and media for nonformal education.

John P. Comings

University of Massachusetts Amherst

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THE PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT OF MATERIALS AND
MEDIA FOR NONFORMAL EDUCATION

A Dissertation Presented

By

JOHN PAUL COMINGS

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September 1979

Education

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Approved as to style and content by:

David R. Evans
David R. Evans, Chairperson of Committee

David Kinsey
David Kinsey, Member

Debra Roter
Debra Roter, Member

Mario D. Fantini
Mario D. Fantini, Dean
School of Education

To my parents who made
this possible.

PREFACE

Part of almost everything in this study comes from my collaboration and friendship with Bonnie Cain. Without her help I would not have been able to even begin this. I would like to express my appreciation to Bonnie and acknowledge her hand in this work. Dr. Steven Frantz and Garland Yates also deserve special thanks and acknowledgment for their work on the Troy project from which many of these insights come. Both worked very hard and proved that the two sides of the collaborative process, practitioners and clients, can not only work together but can become friends and true partners in the work of making the world a better place to live. Dr. David Evans helped to expand my view of what might be involved in this process of participation. Dr. David Kinsey helped me put it all into an ordered fashion, and Dr. Debrah Roter helped with fresh insights from outside my usual world. All three formed a perfect committee. There were many other people who deserve acknowledgment, but I will mention only a few. To them and to the people who are not mentioned I wish to express my gratitude. Those who deserve special mention are: Dr. Paul Goff, Rima Rudd, Joseph Butler, John Dickson, Maxine Hall, Lynda Hayden, Rohn Hein, Karen Kalijian, Karl Westphal, TINC, N-ACT, the New York State Department of Health, the Rensselaer County Health Department, the New England Farm Workers' Council and the Center for International Education.

ABSTRACT

The Participatory Development of Materials and Media for Nonformal Education

(September 1979)

John Paul Comings

B.S., California State University at Long Beach
M.Ed., University of Massachusetts
Ed.D., University of Massachusetts

Directed by: Dr. David R. Evans

This study first looks at the concept of client participation in development work with particular focus on nonformal education. This is followed by a specific analysis of client participation in the design, production, utilization and evaluation of nonformal education media and materials. This analysis is applied first to a project in Troy, N.Y. where officials from the State Health Department worked with members of their client population to produce a photonovel about community problems and rodent control. Then several shorter case studies are described and analyzed briefly, and the last chapter draws conclusions for planning, evaluating and implementing participatory nonformal education media projects and offers suggestions about where further research should proceed.

The study contains a brief historical analysis of the concept of participation in development work and offers a new definition based, in part, on previous definitions developed at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Cornell University. This definition includes a

matrix that is useful for planning, evaluating and comparing development projects from the viewpoint of participation. Five project types are presented that are based on the level of participation of the client group. These five types and the matrix are both presented in a general form for development projects and in a specific form for non-formal education media projects. The study also presents, from the literature, an analysis of the resources necessary for participation in a project and the benefits that can result from that participation. These benefits and resources are also presented both in a general development context and a specific nonformal education media context.

The Troy project is described in detail following the matrix format. The benefits of the participatory approach in Troy are then discussed in terms of both the product and other aspects of the project. Finally an analysis is made of the types of resources needed by clients, media facilitators and content specialists. The shorter case studies are of participatory nonformal education media projects in North America, South America and Asia.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

This study will provide an analysis of the literature on participation through the focus of a product oriented field, materials and media development. This analysis of the literature will then be applied to several case studies, and this application should help to clarify the theoretical analysis. The wider issue of participation has been analyzed in some other fields of study (e.g., participatory research and citizen participation in community development), but there is no comprehensive work on participation in materials and media development. This study, therefore, will provide both a theoretical view of the larger issue of participation and a practical view of the use of client participation in materials and media development.

Many case studies of participatory materials and media development are lost in unpublished project reports, and both the published and unpublished case studies are analyzed and described within different frameworks. This study will include, therefore, a description and analysis of the most important and well documented projects, and the descriptions and analyses will be within a single framework. These descriptions are sometimes more valuable to a practitioner than a theoretical discussion and will provide ideas for new projects and an additional source of information for this study.

The study will also produce a set of assumptions about

participatory materials and media development. The amount of research and experimentation to date does not yet justify the development of a comprehensive theory of participatory materials and media development, and a single theory may never be appropriate. This set of assumptions based on the current level of knowledge and experience, though, may be useful as a set of guidelines for practitioners who wish to experiment with a participatory process. These assumptions can also serve as a framework for further study.

Nonformal education media and materials are usually developed and produced by people who are from outside the client population of users of the media. The participation of clients in nonformal education projects and development projects in general has been receiving more and more attention. The top-down method of development has proved to have significant faults, and the involvement of the clients of these projects is now viewed as a way for overcoming those faults. This study is directed at the people who develop materials and media, but people involved in the larger field of development may also find the study useful.

The participation of the ultimate clients of nonformal education materials and media in the design, production and utilization of those materials and media is the subject of this study. The main focus of the study is the process of participation, and the development of a useful definition of participation is one of the goals of this study. Nonformal education, materials and media are all terms that are defined differently by different writers, and this study will be able to focus more clearly on the process of participation if the meanings of these

terms for this context are presented first.

While there is no standard definition of nonformal education, Philip Coombs' definition is most often cited. He defines nonformal education (NFE) as:

any organized educational activity outside the formal system--whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity--that is intended to serve some identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives.¹

This definition is very broad, but this study will concentrate on NFE as it is used in the field of development.

The programs and projects of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the various United Nations organizations, the World Bank and other governmental, multinational and private agencies that lend technical assistance and material support to the third world^{*} are the major focus of this study. This study will also consider projects in the poor areas of the developed countries and projects carried out by third world countries without outside assistance. Development has a larger meaning than these projects, but in this study the focus will be narrowed to these activities.

Because NFE is not linked to a school building, a clientele of students, a professional class of teachers or the requirements of a degree, it has been free to serve as a component part of many different programs. NFE has been used for literacy, numeracy and consciousness raising activities. NFE has also been used for agriculture extension, public health education, community development and rural development

^{*} Underdeveloped, less developed, developing and emerging are all terms that are in current use to define the poorer nations of the world. In this study third world will be used.

projects. When a development project needs an educational component (most do), NFE rather than formal education has usually been the medium. Since this study is concerned with participation as it affects the educational component of development projects, material on participation from rural development, community development, public health and agriculture extension literature will be cited.

The general context of this study, then, is the nonformal education components of development projects. More specifically, the context is the planned learning components of development projects that take place outside the formal school system and address agendas and/or serve clients that the formal system does not.

Within this context the study will focus on the use of client participation in the development of media and materials. The broadest definition of materials and media will be used. Radio, television, posters, slide tape modules, games, films, pamphlets, books, reading material, folk media, puppets, plays and songs are all the subjects of this study. There are different specific technical problems in using client participation for each of these forms, but these separate technical problems will not be covered in this study.

The word media can be used for all of these forms of educational communications, and for the sake of simplicity the word media will be used for the remainder of the study to mean both media and materials. The word materials will be included in the title for the sake of reference. People searching for advice on how to develop educational materials may decide that media refers only to radio, television and newspapers, and these people might neglect this study.

The next chapter will focus on the process of participation in the field of development. The third chapter will narrow this focus to the process of participation in the development of NFE media. The fourth chapter will present a detailed case study in the process of participation in NFE media development and the fifth chapter will present several less detailed case studies of similar projects. The last chapter will offer suggestions to planners, evaluators and field practitioners of participatory media projects and give direction to further research.

A few words of caution are necessary at this point. The concept of client participation is very complicated and the literature is vague. This study attempts to organize and clarify this concept, but this analysis presents only tentative conclusions. The major contribution of this study will be to provide an organized statement that can now be criticized, research and improved. The author is committed to client participation as an ethical and a practical necessity for the process of development. This study, therefore, has a bias in favor of participation, and this should be kept in mind.

CHAPTER II

PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT

The participation of the clients of development projects in the initiation, design, implementation and evaluation of those projects is not a new idea. Throughout the history of development, there have been many individual projects that have involved some client participation. Development theory and policy, though, paid little attention to client participation until the early sixties, and intensive study and discussion of client participation in international development became popular only in the mid-seventies.

This popularity is more than just another development fad. There has been a slow but constant building of interest in this concept. A look at the history of the concept of participation in development theory and policy will provide an understanding of the firm base that now supports this idea. This historical analysis will also allow a presentation of the current definitions of participation. These definitions are altered and expanded in this study, and an understanding of the present definitions will help in explaining the new definition.

For the sake of simplicity this history and definition will be drawn mostly from the experience of USAID. A good deal of the recent emphasis on client participation comes from USAID, which has always been a major force in the field of development, but the history of the

concept of client participation does not begin with USAID. For the purposes of this study an exhaustive historical analysis is not appropriate, and the original source of the concept will not be discussed. This analysis is meant as an aid to understanding the definition of client participation, and a complete description of the history of client participation adds little to that understanding.

Client participation came into development theory and practice from at least two sources, American agriculture extension and community development. Early agriculture extension programs in the United States viewed client participation as important to the success of their projects, and the American agriculture extension system was used as one model for international development after the United States Point Four (later USAID) program began in 1948. In the late fifties the concept of community development became popular in USAID, and this model, too, viewed the participation of members of the community as essential.

In 1962 Rogers analyzed the agriculture extension experience in Diffusion of Innovation, and this analysis dominated development thinking in the sixties and early seventies. A major element of Rogers' analysis is that opinion leaders in communities were important to the success of a project, and that outside change agents must enlist the help of these members of the client population. Rogers said, "Change agents' success is positively related to the extent that he [sic] works through opinion leaders."² During the sixties and early seventies Rogers' book focused attention on the client population as a resource in development.

Community development was defined by the United Nations in 1955

as:

a process of social action in which the people of a community organize themselves for planning and action; define their common and individual needs and solve their problems; execute their plans with a maximum reliance upon community resources; and supplement these resources when necessary with services and materials from governmental and nongovernmental agencies outside of the community.³

The actual practice of community development has usually been less ambitious than this definition. However, community development furthered the concept of client participation by proposing that the ideal community development project should be initiated, designed, and implemented by the community. Government or other outside agencies were viewed only as resources.

The community development process was meant to train people to solve their own community problems while solving one specific problem. The end product of the process would be a community that was continuously defining problems and solving them. The community was then supposed to begin developing on its own with only occasional help from the outside.⁴ Community development led to many experiments and studies that helped to further popularize client participation as a tool for development.

By the end of the sixties, client participation has become public policy in the United States war on poverty programs and, as Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act, in American financed development projects abroad. The reasons why Congress put Title IX into the Foreign Assistance Act are not clear. In MIT's USAID funded study of Title IX, David Hapgood states:

Unless the people benefit from development efforts, no meaningful progress can result from foreign aid. It is equally true that unless the people contribute to development efforts, no meaningful progress can result from foreign aid.⁵

There were two other issues that may have been involved, democracy and poverty.

USAID had been accused of helping to sustain undemocratic governments in the third world. Congress may have meant to put a measure of democracy into foreign assistance by involving the recipients of AID funds in the design and implementation of AID projects. USAID has also been accused of funding projects that help the rich and powerful in the third world and not the poorest of the poor. Title IX may have been meant to insure that the poor benefited by participating in AID projects. Whatever the issues, Title IX has, by law, focused AID's attention on client participation.

These policy decisions and the evolution of development theory led, in the seventies, to programs that were striving to add client participation in planning, materials development, research and evaluation. Participation usually meant participation in the implementation phase of a project, and even that participation was often directed and controlled.

Title IX, community development and agriculture extension are not the only forces that have produced AID's interest in participation, but these have been three major forces. AID is trying to understand what participation is, how it can be implemented and how it can be evaluated. They are still working to develop successful models for planning, implementation and evaluation, and they have generated two

studies that have developed two similar definitions.

One of these studies was done at MIT in 1968. The results were published in a book, The Role of Popular Participation in Development. In 1976 another study was completed at Cornell University that produced Rural Development Participation: Concepts and Measures for Project Design, Implementation and Evaluation. An examination of the definitions presented in these two studies will help to determine what is meant by participation and will also help to clarify the definition presented in this study.

In the MIT report participation is viewed as having these three elements:

1. Decision Making--Participation in the process by which priorities are selected and programs affecting growth or the people or both are designed.
2. Implementation--Participation in the work of development through acquiring and putting to use the skills that characterize modern man.
3. Benefits--Participation in the benefits of growth: material, cultural, civic and psychic.⁶

This was the first major definition developed for AID just a few years after the inclusion of Title IX into the Foreign Assistance Act. This definition is not very detailed, but it offers a picture of how vaguely participation was viewed at that time.

Eight years later AID needed a clearer and more detailed picture of what participation might be so that participation could be measured and evaluated. This need produced the Cornell report. The

Cornell report accepts MIT's three elements, elaborates on them, and adds evaluation as a fourth element. The Cornell definition can be summarized as:

1. Decision Making--Participation in these three types of decisions:
 - a. Initial Decisions about needs, priorities, goals and methods. This includes the initial decision to begin the project.
 - b. On-going Decisions about needs, priorities, goals, and methods. This includes the decision to continue the project.
 - c. Operational Decisions about membership, meetings, leadership, control of personnel and initiatives for contracting and lobbying.
2. Implementation--Participation in these three types of activities:
 - a. Resource Contributions as workers on the project (labor), contributions of material inputs (cash and in-kind) or the provision of information.
 - b. Administration as employees of the project, members of project related committees or in other project specific roles.
 - c. Enlistment in programs or willingness to respond positively to the program offerings of the project.
3. Benefits--Participation in the material, social and personal benefits and the harmful consequences of the project.
4. Evaluation--Participation in these three types of activities:
 - a. Project centered evaluation both formative and summative whether formal or informal.
 - b. Political activities including voting, lobbying, demonstrating and protesting.
 - c. Public opinion efforts with the hope that these will have the desired ramification for continuation or possible modification of the project.⁷

Cornell's addition of evaluation and expansion of the definitions of decision making, implementation and benefits help to clarify the concept of participation, but a more orderly presentation of this information will make the definition more useful. The following definition attempts to add that order by looking at the two components of participation (decision making in and cooperation with a project) as they are performed by the different participants in a project at different stages of a project.

First a model of the stages of a project will be presented. A simple model is:

1. Initiation--The decisions and actions that begin a project.
Initiation includes the decision to begin a project.
2. Planning--The decisions and actions that design a project.
3. Implementation--The decisions and actions that make up the utilization of the design.
4. Benefits--The outcome, both material and non-material, of the implementation of the project.
5. Evaluation--The decisions and actions that analyze the effectiveness of and success of the project. Evaluation includes the decision to continue or end a project.

The sequence of the stages is in a rough chronological order, but, of course, evaluation could take place at any time during the project (as could planning). Also, the benefits of a project do not always come only at the end. This order, though, is not important to the understanding of participation.

Within this model, there are two groups of participants:

1. Clients--The members of the group who are the ultimate target of the project or its beneficiaries.
2. Practitioners--The people with the responsibility to accomplish the goals of the project. These people are usually employees of private or governmental institutions.

These two groups of participants and the stages of a project can be entered into a grid for clarity:

	Initia- tion	Planning	Implemen- tation	Benefits	Evalua- tion
Clients					
Practi- tioners					

The participation of each group of participants, clients and practitioners, can now be compared at each stage of the project.

Participation in development projects can be viewed as having two components:

1. Cooperation with the project--Being physically present and taking part in the activities of and lending material and non-material support to the project. If the project is the building of a road, then cooperation might be helping with the work of building, attending meetings that explain the goals and benefits of the project or giving money or materials for construction.
2. Decision making power in the project--Having and exercising the power to make decisions that affect the form and content of the

project. In the road project example this could be the decision of where and when the road would be built or the decision to build the road itself.

With the addition of these two components the grid becomes a matrix that explains a project in terms of the two components of participation for each of the two groups of participants at each stage of a project. The matrix looks like this:

	Initia- tion	Planning	Implemen- tation	Benefits	Evalua- tion
Clients	D.M. Coop	D.M. Coop	D.M. Coop	D.M. Coop	D.M. Coop
Practi- tioners	D.M. Coop	D.M. Coop	D.M. Coop	D.M. Coop	D.M. Coop

D.M. = Decision Making
Coop = Cooperation

For this matrix to be useful for diagramming the level of participation in a project, there must be a measure of the level of decision making or cooperation. There is both a quantitative and a qualitative measure for both components. If, for example, the clients of a project do all of the unskilled labor on a project and the practitioners do all of the semi-skilled and skilled jobs, this is not high quality client participation. It may be, though, that 80% of the work is unskilled which would give this project a high rating for the quantity of client participation. If this hypothetical project took the time and effort to train clients for some of the semi-skilled and skilled positions, then the quality of participation would be greater.

If the clients learn all of the skills necessary in a project, they can take over and run the project themselves. In a road building project that occurs once every 15 years and has many highly skilled tasks, this may not be efficient or cost effective. In a nonformal education project that should be continuous for 15 years and may have few highly skilled tasks, this training can be very important.

In decision making the determination of quality and quantity is also important. Deciding when a road will be built is usually much less important than where it is to be built. For nonformal education the decision of where and when may not be as important as what will be taught and how it will be learned.

There may be no way to produce an objective measure for quality and quantity that is valid for all development projects, but these measures are not totally subjective either. For each project, the people involved should be able to make a determination of what would be good objective measures for quality and quantity. In Chapter III this study will attempt to objectify this matrix for media development, and that example can serve as a model for other types of projects.

A note should be made at this point that a high client rating on decision making at any stage of the matrix is not necessarily a positive resource for success of the project. There is a possibility that the practitioner group will make a "better" decision than the clients. The meaning of quality, therefore, relates only to the importance of the decision, not the correctness or desirability of the decision made by the clients.

The measure of quality is much more difficult than quantity.

This study will not make a detailed analysis of quality, therefore, the matrix that is presented is not a valid coding system. The reader should keep this in mind and remember that the matrix still needs refinement.

The level of cooperation or decision making is too complex to fit well into a percentage or even a one to ten scale. This study will suggest a simple four level scale for measuring participation. This scale has only one measure that combines quality and quantity. It is, of course, possible to separate both of these factors, but keeping them together has a benefit in addition to simplicity. Together the two factors make a balanced measure. High quality with low quantity in one situation may not be equal to low quality and high quantity in that same situation, and separating the two factors might make these two examples appear equal.

Keeping the two factors in one measure forces an evaluator to make a determination about what constitutes important participation for any one situation. The evaluator must look at a project and decide what are the important decisions and activities (the issue of important to whom will not be discussed here) and combine this with the amount of each to come up with a single measure. The quantity of this participation should be, relative to quality, easy to objectify. The evaluator, then, must make a subjective judgment on the quality of each of the types of participation.

The four levels of participation (for both decision making and cooperation) that this study suggests are:

1. Zero--The quantity and quality of participation is essentially

nothing.

2. Low--There is some participation but the quality and quantity are both of a low level.
3. Medium--There is either high quality or high quantity with the other factor being low or both factors are somewhere between high and low.
4. High--There is a significant quantity of participation and the quality is high.

More experience with evaluating participation will eventually make possible the description of a larger number of levels. For now, though, these four levels are sufficient.

Within any stage of a project on this matrix, there is no finite amount of participation that is divided between the two groups of participants. That is, high decision making power for the clients at the initiation stage does not rule out high decision making power for the practitioners. At any stage on the matrix, there could be an equal collaboration on decision making and cooperation, or all of the cooperation or decision making could be in the hands of the clients or the practitioners. Any combination is possible.

A hypothetical example of a complete matrix, at this time, might be helpful. In the following example the decision to initiate the project was made by a government agency. The clients and practitioners worked together to design the project, and the practitioners made most of the decisions in the implementation stage of the project. The clients volunteered labor and materials for the implementation stage. Though the practitioners were all very well paid for their

work, the clients were the main beneficiaries of the results of the project. The evaluation was conducted by the practitioners to satisfy the demands of their funding agency. A complete matrix for this example appears on the next page.

The matrix presents a graphic picture of participation in a project, and this picture can help a project staff to know where in the project participation of the clients is low and where it is high. This graphic representation can be very useful to a project staff interested in increasing participation in their project. The staff can put concentrated effort into raising participation at the stages where participation is rated as low.

The matrix may be too detailed, though, to be useful for classifying different projects by the concept of participation. With twenty different slots in the matrix and four measures of participation at each slot, a large number of combinations are possible. If each different combination is considered to be a different type of project, this produces quite a large variety of types. Even within the client role there are thousands of possible combinations. Comparisons and evaluation of projects would be easier if there were fewer types. Viewed from the perspective of client participation, this large variety can be grouped into five different types. These five types are:

1. Non-participative--The cooperation of the clients is essentially zero, and the clients have no decision making power in any stage of the project.
2. Feedback--There is client cooperation in the planning and evaluation stages of the project, but the clients have no

	Initiation	Planning	Implementation	Benefits	Evaluation
Clients	D.M. zero	medium	low	high	zero
	Coop zero	high	high	high	low
Practitioners	D.M. high	high	high	high	high
	Coop high	high	medium	medium	high

D.M. = Decision Making

Coop = Cooperation

decision making power.

3. Directed--The clients have decision making power and participate in some or all of the stages of the project. This participation, though, is directed by the practitioners, and the decision making is within prescribed boundaries.
4. Collaborative--The project is initiated by the practitioners, but the clients have decision making power and are able to participate in all of the stages of the project. The participation and decision making are not directed or controlled by the practitioners.
5. Responsive--The project is initiated by the clients and the participation of the practitioners in the rest of the stages is directed by the clients.

When the Client role of the matrix is diagrammed for a typical example of each of these five types, they look like this:

Non-participative

	Initiation	Planning	Implementation	Benefits	Evaluation
D.M.	zero	zero	zero	zero	zero
Coop.	zero	zero	zero	zero	zero

Feedback

	Initiation	Planning	Implementation	Benefits	Evaluation
D.M.	zero	zero	zero	zero	zero
Coop	zero	low-medium	zero	zero	low-medium

Directed

	Initiation	Planning	Implementation	Benefits	Evaluation
D.M.	zero	low	low	low	low
Coop	zero	low-medium	low	low	low-medium

Collaborative

	Initiation	Planning	Implementation	Benefits	Evaluation
D.M.	low	medium-high	medium-high	medium-high	medium-high
Coop	medium	medium-high	medium-high	medium-high	medium-high

Responsive

	Initiation	Planning	Implementation	Benefits	Evaluation
D.M.	high	high	high	high	high
Coop	high	high	high	high	high

D.M. = Decision Making

Coop = Cooperation

There are variations within each of these types of projects, and the examples given above are meant as an indication of what constitutes one of each type. A project that had high cooperation at every stage of the project and had high decision making at every stage except evaluation would still be a responsive type. These variations are the result of the situation in which the project takes place and the free choice of the individuals involved. The basis for these five types is the locus of power between the two groups, the clients and the practitioners.

In the non-participative type of project all of the power is on the practitioner side. In the feedback type the power is still with the practitioners, but the clients are consulted for their opinion. In the directed project the practitioners give up some of their power but still remain in the dominant position. In the collaborative project the two sides become more equal, and in the responsive type the clients have the dominant position.

These five types are useful for a gross comparison or evaluation of projects. Projects that fall into one type can be analyzed together to see what common elements make that level of client participation possible, and projects of one type might have similar benefits. The classification by type is a useful first evaluation. The matrix can then be used to compare projects of similar type.

The differences in the distribution of power between clients and practitioners in the five types is important to planning. These five types may help planners in the initial decision of how much client participation to attempt. An organization may not feel comfortable with a collaborative type of project in one situation. It may also be true that a client group in the same situation may not feel comfortable with a directed type. The opposite, of course, might also be true. The five types are concerned with the question of who will be in charge of the project, and this is a crucial first question in the initiation stage of a participatory project.

In Chapter III the matrix and the five types will be refined for NFE media projects, and in Chapter IV both will be applied to a detailed case study. The short case studies in Chapter V will be

classified by type. These three chapters will help to further clarify and explain both the matrix and the five types.

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a discussion of the benefits of client participation and the resources that can help support client participation. The words benefit and resource have very specific meanings for some development writings, and the reader is cautioned that in this context a broad definition of both terms is meant. Benefits are not confined to the material or programmatic outcomes of a cost benefit analysis in this study, and resources are not limited to the material and human elements of a project. The benefits that are discussed here include all of the possible positive effects of client participation and resources means all of the factors that may be useful to the development of client participation.

Benefits

Client participation can be defined along a continuum from token use of a community for pre-testing a program that has been designed by outsiders to complete control by the community of every aspect of the project. The questions of maximum, optimum, minimum, desirable and undesirable levels of participation is not the focus of this study nor will this study take the position that participation is an unassailable good. However, client participation does have benefits that it adds to a project, and in this section these benefits will be discussed.

Empirical research into client participation is limited, and some of the benefits of participation are difficult to measure objec-

tively. This section will discuss some of the major categories of benefits, and at the end of this chapter a list of assumptions will be constructed based on this discussion. Some of these assumptions will be supported by the case studies in Chapters IV and V, but the list is most useful as an indication of what research to date is saying about client participation and as an outline for further research.

If there are benefits to participation there must also be drawbacks. This study takes a positive approach and considers the drawbacks to be constraints. The absence of these constraints is a resource and is covered under that section.

Ethical. Of all the benefits that will be discussed in this study, ethical benefits are the most difficult to describe, quantify or analyze. Ethics, values and morals, though, are being discussed in development literature. Goulet's The Cruel Choice is one of the best known of these writings. He states that:

One needs to ask: given a certain conception of life, of human worth, and of the ideal society, how close does economic development come to the ideal? Many students of the problem uncritically assume that existing values, or even values in gestation, ought to be treated instrumentally--i.e., as mere impediments or aids to development. It is wiser, on the contrary, to ask whether development itself is an impediment or an aid to the good life and the good society as conceived in a variety of values systems.⁸

Ethics, values and morals are not yet major evaluation criteria on project reports, but they are gaining some weight. The objective of this section on ethics is to make the point that inclusion or exclusion of client participation is a value statement, and ethical values can act as a weight that may balance an actual or perceived loss of

efficiency or centralized control.

Dennis Goulet writes of development:

When used normatively, "development" proposes images of the good society, prescriptions for obtaining it, and symbols for generating enthusiastic allegiance to it. Above all, however, it deals with power.⁹

He sees power as:

the effective influence or ability of an individual or group to modify the conduct of others in some desired manner. Unless one participates in decisions he lacks the power to affect their outcomes.¹⁰

The practice of client participation is intimately involved with the distribution of power. Since most development projects are a manifestation of government policy, the practitioners, quite often, are the instruments of government power. The decisions that the practitioners make are enforced by this government power, and these decisions affect the lives of the clients. The right of people to participate in the decisions that affect their lives is an ethical question, and increasing the power of clients in these decisions, therefore, can be an ethical benefit.

If this right of people to participate in the decisions that affect their lives is part of the ethical framework of the government or institution that is implementing a development project, then increasing client participation is an ethical benefit for that project. An institution with an authoritarian ethical framework might also choose a participatory process, but it would not be an ethical imperative. The arguments in favor of either of these ethical frameworks is not an objective of this study, but once an institution chooses its ethical framework, that framework may demand the use of a participatory process.

Political. In recent years, the politics of development projects have been viewed as either liberating or oppressive. This point of view has developed, in large part, out of the work of Paulo Freire and his supporters. Freire has affected the image of client participation, the people who are working to develop participatory projects and the methods that have been developed for participatory NFE (the Ecuador Project is a notable example¹¹). Freire sees a political benefit in the use of a participatory educational process. His view is that participation in the educational process will help the oppressed to raise their consciousness and develop skills needed for reform and revolution. Freire's work has been in education (mostly adult literacy education), and he views the pivotal question to be who has control of the educational process.

Paulo Freire is interested in education as a mechanism for liberation--liberation from the cycle of oppression that limits the freedom of the masses. Freire sees the process of liberation as happening when the oppressed "can apprehend the situation of oppression as an historical reality susceptible of transformation, and that they are capable of affecting the transformation."¹² Within this context, Freire defines two forms of education, Banking which reinforces the system of oppression and Problem-Posing which leads to liberation.

The metaphor of Banking is used to show that the teacher deposits knowledge into the students, and Banking education is defined by Freire as dominated by the teacher. All of the power of decision making is in the hands of the teacher, and "the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his own professional authority, which he

sets in opposition to the freedom of the students; the teacher is the subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects."¹³

The Banking system of education leads, says Freire, to individuals who accept the passive role imposed on them and learn, along with a fragmented view of reality, to adapt to the world as it is and not to act upon it and change it. The Banking form of education reinforces dependence, and "libertarian action must recognize this dependence as a weak point and must attempt, through reflection and action, to transform it into independence."¹⁴ This transformation of the existing oppressive political system to a liberating system is not "something given to be received by men, but something to be created by them."¹⁵ The transformation is created through Problem-Posing education.

Problem-Posing education has as its first goal the breakdown of the dichotomy between student and teacher. That situation must become one of equality, dialogue and mutual communication. This type of education, says Freire, leads men to praxis; that is, they become reflective, self-conscious agents. This praxis is learned through the process of action-reflection-action, that is itself praxis, and leads to:

thinking which discerns an indivisible solidarity between the world and men and admits of no dichotomy between them--thinking which perceives reality as process, as transformation, rather than as a static entity--thinking which does not separate itself from action, but constantly immerses itself in temporality without fear of the risks involved.¹⁶

This thinking Freire calls Critical Thinking, and the consciousness that develops from this type of thinking is Critical Consciousness.

With Critical Consciousness, the oppressed can perceive that

oppression does not arise from concrete situations, but rather from man's consciousness.

Thus, it is not the limit situations in and of themselves which create a climate of hopelessness, but rather how they are perceived by men at a given historical moment: whether they appear as fetters or as insurmountable barriers. As critical perception is embodied in action, a climate of hope and confidence develops which leads men to attempt to overcome the limit situations. This objective can only be achieved through action upon the concrete, historical reality in which limit situations historically are found. As reality is transformed and these situations are superceded, new ones will appear, which in turn will evoke new limit acts.¹⁷

These two types of education, Banking and Problem-Posing, support two different political goals. The Banking system (non-participatory) supports an authoritarian model. The Problem-Posing (participatory) system supports a liberating political system. This is supposition on Freire's part, but if a participatory process strengthens individuals in a community to act to solve their own educational problems, that increased organizational power may eventually turn against a larger authoritarian power. The community might also decide to support that authoritarian power.

If the goal of the government is to develop democratic institutions, though, the practice of decision making power is one of the skills that are necessary. Using a participatory process in development programs can provide a training in democratic practices, and participation at this level may also help to develop political institutions on a local level. These local political institutions may then support the national democratic structure.

Pedagogical. "For it is almost universally predictable that programs that are based mostly on what somebody (even advisory councils) think

people ought to learn will fail."¹⁸ Children can be compelled by society to learn "or else," but adults are "essentially volunteers in learning, in the sense that society does not punish them (at least directly) if they don't learn what they ought to; for them the 'or else' is absent or, at most, weak."¹⁹ The clients of the projects that this paper is concerned with are predominantly adults, and, therefore, adult education theory is an important factor in determining the nature of the benefits of this method.

Malcolm Knowles has analyzed the basic research on adult learning in The Modern Practice of Adult Education. In opposition to pedagogy, Knowles has developed the concept of androgogy to define the process of education for adults, but the principles of his androgogy could also be principles for good teaching. The following is a summary of the principles of Knowles' androgogy:

1. The psychological climate of the learning environment should be one which causes adults to feel accepted, respected and supported; in which there exists a spirit of mutuality between teachers and students as joint inquirers; in which there is freedom of expression without fear of punishment or ridicule.
2. The adult's self-concept of self-directiveness is in direct conflict with the traditional practice of the teacher telling the student what s/he needs to learn.
3. Every individual tends to feel committed to a decision or an activity to the extent that s/he has participated in making it (or planning it).
4. The adult's self-concept and self-directivity argues for a learning-teaching transaction that is one of mutual responsibility of learners and teachers.
5. That being judged or evaluated by another adult is the ultimate sign of disrespect and dependency. For this reason, evaluation should be a process of self-evaluation, in which the teacher devotes his energy to helping the adults get evidence for themselves about the progress they are making toward their educational goals.²⁰

In each of the five statements, the participation of the learner is central.

Carl Rogers is primarily a psychotherapist, but he has also conceptualized a student-centered approach to education. In The Adult Learner: A Neglected Species, Knowles outlines the five hypotheses on which Rogers bases his educational approach. These five hypotheses are:

1. We cannot teach another person directly; we can only facilitate his learning.
2. A person learns significantly only those things which he perceives as being involved in the maintenance of, or enhancement of, the structure of self.
3. Experience which, if assimilated, would involve a change in the organization of self tends to be resisted through denial or distortion or symbolization.
4. The structure and organization of self appear to become more rigid under threat; to relax its boundaries when completely free from threat. Experience which is perceived as inconsistent with the self can only be assimilated if the current organization of self is relaxed and expanded to include it.
5. The educational situation which most effectively promotes significant learning is one in which (a) threat to the self of the learner is reduced to a minimum, and (b) differentiated perception of the field is facilitated.²¹

Rogers sees the concept of self and the defense of that self by the individual as fundamental to the learning process for adults. NFE on a participatory model has the learner as an ally in the development of a project, and this alliance can help to alleviate the fear of attack on the self that an educational experience can sometimes be. This fear of failure will be discussed again under the section on attitudes.

Rogers and Knowles are viewing the nature of learning as an internal process. The learner must feel comfortable. The learner must also feel a need to learn and perceive a personal goal that learning will help to achieve. If the clients have been involved in the deci-

sions that resulted in the learning experience, there is a greater chance that they will feel comfortable and be motivated to learn.

Practical.

"We are a rural people," Francisco Batzibal of the agricultural cooperative tried to explain to the relief groups arriving with one housing plan after another, "and although housing may appear to you to be our greatest need, it really is not. This is the month of the harvest. The corn is in, and now we are harvesting the wheat. We must prepare the soil for planting in May. If anything should distract us from this work, we will be hungry long after you have left for home."²²

Just after the 1976 earthquake in Guatemala, almost every aid giving institution in the U.S. (Care, Oxfam-America, Catholic Relief Services, the Mennonite Church, Save the Children, the Salvation Army, USAID, World Neighbors, and many others²³) were trying to help the Guatemalans build new homes. In some villages there were no homes at all. They had all been destroyed by the earthquake. The aftermath of the earthquake appeared to be a time when the participation of the clients of this aid was not really needed. The problem was acute and obvious--obvious to everyone but the villagers in Guatemala who needed help in the fields.

One practical benefit of client participation is information. Information that is easily available and accurate is of great value to planners and administrators. Needs assessments and other forms of survey research are sometimes time consuming and complicated, and, quite often, the research is not done or done poorly. A participatory process can add a client point of view and an easy, quick source of information about the client community. This client input may be

biased, but if participation is large in number and wide in variety, the bias can be reduced. As in the Guatemala example, there are sometimes important facts, conditions or issues that are missed by outsiders, and participation can, at least, be a warning system for these large mistakes.

Information is not the only practical benefit. The Rural Development Committee at Cornell University has made a study of local organization and rural development in sixteen countries in Asia and the Middle East, and they have come to the conclusion that:

Many factors influence rural development and it in turn affects the need for and capacity of local organization. Nevertheless, we think that local organization is in many respects and in most cases a necessary if not sufficient condition for accelerated rural development, especially development of the sort which improves the productivity and welfare of the majority of rural people. Both of the alternative explanations commonly given for progress in rural development--resources and technology--are themselves contingent to a great extent on local organization for their efficient use and application.²⁴

In the same Cornell study, participation as a factor of local organization was analyzed in this way:

Some success in rural development, as registered in Malaysia, can be achieved without much popular participation providing two conditions are met:

1. There is an effective administrative system capable of top-down action to influence rural areas, and
2. The center has sufficient resources not to need local contributions.

These conditions are met in Malaysia, but very seldom are both satisfied elsewhere. Where administration is not so effective and where local resources must be mobilized for rural development, fairly extensive local participation becomes a requirement for affecting and maintaining change.²⁵

A participatory process, then, has a goal larger than the immediate project objectives. Building local organization through par-

ticipation, at least in this study, seems to be a major prerequisite for development, unless the resources of the central government are sufficient to overcome the logistical problems of development in the third world. Where those resources exist, improved local organization should augment those resources and allow the project to be completed more efficiently. A participatory process, therefore, can be viewed as having an educational benefit of its own. The process helps to train the client community in effective social organization. Another way to look at this is as an organizing benefit. Whatever the social organization in the community, a participatory process can help to strengthen that organization through using it.

A study by Development Alternatives was prepared for USAID and published in 1976. Development Alternatives conducted an empirical study of thirty-six rural development projects in Africa and Latin America. All of these projects involved agriculture and farmers. In the summary of findings they stated:

Using both qualitative and quantitative modes of analysis, we drew conclusions from a list of about 25 possibilities concerning the key determinants of project success. We found that overall success ratings were most affected by:

The local action taken by small farmers to complement outside development management and resources. By itself, this factor explained 49 percent of the variation in the overall success rankings.

When the components of local action were examined, two proved to be most important in promoting overall success: small farmer involvement in decision-making in the implementation phase of a development project, and small farmer resource commitment (labor and cash) to a development project.

Small farmer involvement in project decision-making and resource commitments also appeared important as determinants in each of our success criteria, providing firm evidence of the importance as well as the consistency of local action as a necessary ingredient in building successful projects.²⁶

This study and the Cornell study are both pointing to client participation as a major factor leading to successful rural development projects in the third world. Neither study was focused on NFE, but NFE, as stated before, is a part of the larger field of development. Participation on NFE projects can help to build local organization, and NFE projects face the same problems of resources and administration as well.

Attitude. Development projects can use participation to help overcome apathy and generate client motivation. Some projects may not only lack local support but may come up against significant local resistance. The ethics of using client participation to defuse protest are complicated, and the line between co-option and participation is difficult to draw.

Writing of urban renewal projects in the United States, Piven has said:

Efforts to bring about resident participation in urban renewal were thus marked by an irony reflecting the dilemma of renewal policy. Programs for resident participation were developed to offset the spontaneous--but disruptive--participation of local protest groups. Critics came to describe such programs cynically as a mere "cooling-off" tactic. However, so long as renewal plans were oriented to the welfare of the city as a whole they would almost surely generate acute protest and conflict in local areas. Only the most blithe and happy faith in the democratic consensus could permit a program geared to the community as a whole to promote participation by the influence of local residents in renewal areas. It was virtually inevitable that educational forms of participation would be emphasized in renewal programs.²⁷

Piven's analysis may be accurate, but urban renewal projects could benefit the special interests of the rich and powerful rather than the general welfare of the community.

Even legitimate programs, though, can come up against strong resistance. Participation can give a project a chance to work intensively with representatives and leaders from a community to overcome objections. These representatives and leaders may be more believable spokespersons for the project, and the protest element can be heard and talked with by the project staff on an on-going basis. This should allow the resistance to be dealt with in small manageable amounts rather than in one large and uncontrollable reaction.

Overcoming a perception of risk by the clients of a project is another attitude benefit of participation. This risk can be either material or psychological. Material risk involves the probability of loss from adopting a new technology, but risk is a relative term. A subsistence farmer may perceive a 10% possibility of losing 25% of his crop as too great. A rich farmer may view this same risk as acceptable. Before a farmer (particularly a subsistence farmer) is going to take a risk with a new technology that person must perceive this risk as reasonable.²⁸

This risk of material loss is less important in projects that do not deal with life supporting activities like agriculture, but risk can take a psychological form as well. If an adult enters a literacy class he or she has to weigh the possible gain in status from learning to read against the possible loss of status from failure. Loss of status within a community or a feeling of personal failure can be almost as important to an individual as the loss of food.

The Development Alternatives study found that "a farmer is more willing to make a greater resource commitment if he shares

decision-making responsibilities with the project than if this function is controlled either by the project or by the farmer himself."²⁹ This higher resource commitment can be interpreted as a lower perception of risk. If this is true for material risk it should also be true for psychological risk.

If the clients of projects are involved from the beginning in the planning and implementation of a project, they can have a chance to express their fears and analyze the possible risk. Clients may also be able to devise a method for sharing the material risk, and the psychological risk is lessened by having other community people involved.

Several of the benefits that have been mentioned can be analyzed as relating to the attitude of individuals about their power to control events in their lives. Freire's concept of Critical Consciousness is concerned with this attitude. Critical Consciousness is one of three levels of consciousness that Freire has postulated. In the first level, Magical Consciousness, people view the events of their lives as controlled by mystical forces or fate. In Naive Consciousness people understand that the powerful elite, the culture and the political system control the events of their lives but feel that there is nothing that they can do about it. In Critical Consciousness people feel that they have power to act and change the political and social system that oppresses them.³⁰

Involved in the change from Magical or Naive to Critical Consciousness is the attitude of personal power (or power through group action) to affect change. If people are going to take action they

need a feeling of power. Client participation can help to build a sense of power by allowing people to become involved in decisions and actions that are usually controlled by outsiders or higher status members of their own community.

If this feeling generalizes to other activities, then the clients of a participatory project may be perceiving the locus of control of their lives as being partly in their own hands. On a community basis this can translate as community pride or a feeling of progress. These attitudes, both personal and community, can add strength to future participation in government projects and may even lead to the formation of community self help projects.

Resources

To begin a participatory project or to increase client participation in a project certain resources are necessary or helpful. There has been little research on resources necessary for participation, but the Development Alternatives study does look at some resources necessary for participation in development projects. There are also indications from case studies, project reports and other literature of what the most important resources are, and these indications will also be presented in this section. As with the section on benefits, a list of assumptions about resources will be constructed at the end of this chapter.

There is some similarity between the benefits that may accrue from using a participatory process and the resources that can be helpful to developing that process. Local organization is mentioned as

both a resource and a benefit. Some overlap is unavoidable, but this has been minimized where possible.

Image.

What is more, a city used to liberty can be more easily held by means of its citizens than in any other way.

--The Prince³¹

Even Machiavelli perceived the value of participation. Unfortunately, so have his students. The practitioner is usually part of the government structure or is perceived wrongly by the clients to be part of the structure. In the initial stages of a project, the practitioner may have to overcome what is usually a negative image. The government may be perceived as an enemy or a collector of taxes, or there may be a past or present history of the government's misuse of participation.

The opposite image may also be true. The clients may perceive the practitioner to be a giver of gifts or a provider of services. Either way, the image of governmental intervention as a collaborative endeavor may not be believed. An image of the project as sincerely interested in participation is a major resource, and developing this image may be the first goal of a participatory project.

Government. Governmental resources are of two kinds: general and program specific. The general resource is the attitude that the government and political leaders have about participation. Program specific resources have to do with constraints or the lack of constraints that the government places upon the form of the project.

If the government in the country of the project is sympathetic

to local control (even if this is rhetoric more than practice), this is a major resource to the project. Governmental or political resistance can be a very difficult barrier. If the resistance is too great, client participation may not be possible, but this level of resistance is rarely absolute. In the Cornell study on participation, the conclusion on political factors was:

Certain kinds of participation in decision-making should not be expected and made into criteria of participation. Where, for example, the prevailing national ideology is not supportive of "democratic" procedures, alternative, equivalent modes of participation may exist and deserve consideration.³²

A government that is supportive of participatory projects would be the ideal resource, but a project can be designed that would gain support by using a restrained and controlled form of participation. For example, participation of the clients within a general framework that is consistent with government policy would be more acceptable than one that attempted to accomplish a goal that had not yet been stated as a government objective. Support is the necessary resource, and participation can usually only take place to the extent that it has governmental and political support.

Resistance comes not only from the national but from local government and political figures as well. If these people are brought into the project early as an integral part of the process, they may develop into promoters of the project. Attention to these people in the beginning of a project can build an important support for the participatory method.

These general political barriers on a participatory process

are sometimes proportional to the perceived political nature of the project. Paulo Freire's approach is highly political. What is worse, it is perceived as political. An apolitical image can be a very strong resource.

The program specific resource concerns government requirements to use material inputs from only one source, comply with licensing or other regulations or use a particular technology or methodology. The ideal resource would be a government that placed no constraints on the project, but this would probably never exist. A knowledge of and acceptance of these constraints by the clients is a more reasonable possibility. If these constraints are part of the shared knowledge at the beginning of the project, these constraints will probably not cause problems with client participation.

Organizations. The organizations that fund development projects are almost always bureaucracies. While there are so many bureaucracies in the world that it is difficult to define common elements, there are two qualities that are almost universally true. These two qualities can be a problem for developing client participation. They are:

1. A top down hierarchical authority structure with limited areas of command and responsibility, and
2. A need to justify its existence by producing something that can be measured.³³

Most bureaucracies do not function on a participatory model, and, therefore, the relationship of the practitioners in an NFE program to their parent bureaucracy tends to be non-collaborative. This non-collaborative relationship puts pressure on the practitioner to retain decision making power to satisfy the needs of the bureaucracy.

If those needs are too great, the whole process of participation can be affected.

Decentralization of bureaucracies into smaller, more manageable units may be a solution to this problem. A small bureaucracy with a collaborative style of administration may be possible. If the authority structures of this small bureaucracy and a participatory project are similar, the participatory process should have a better chance at success.

If a project's contact with its parent bureaucracy is through one individual (e.g., the project director or a staff member in the bureaucracy), the project can be shielded by that individual. This protection can also come from an official high up in the authority structure who decides to favor the project. An individual who can shelter a project from the demands of the organization is probably an easier resource to develop than a bureaucracy that works on a participatory model. If the project can have a separate structure from the bureaucracy and if only this one person has to participate in the bureaucracy, then this smaller unit can develop its own participatory administrative style.

Bureaucracies also need to measure their accomplishments. This evaluation need can be disruptive to the natural flow of events in a project, and if the evaluation is of objective, measurable phenomena, then these phenomena may take on more importance than they deserve. A form of participatory evaluation (patterned after participatory research³⁴) could develop mechanisms that will solve this problem. If the evaluation can be an integral part of the program

and develop out of the participatory process, then evaluation may be a resource to the process rather than a disruption.

There are also organizations on the client side of participation. The use of existing local organizations can help in increasing client involvement. The Development Alternatives study found:

Of the 18 projects which ranked highest on our local action scale, 17 had local organizations . . . ten created new organizations and seven worked through existing organizations. In contrast 8 of the 18 projects which ranked lowest on the local action scale operated primarily with individuals rather than through local organizations; six worked through existing local organizations while four created new ones.³⁵

Using local organizations can have some drawbacks. There may be conflict within the organization, between the members of the organization and other people or with other organizations in the community. There are probably many problems that can be avoided by not using or developing local organizations, but these organizations can act as a significant resource for participation.

If the project is meant to continue in a community, a local organization can be an effective mechanism for continuity. Local organizations are also effective for mobilizing people. The members of the organization are probably willing to work for the organization with less persuasion than would be needed if they were approached as individuals.

Communications. Both local and government organizations can be helpful in providing services that will help to support client participation. One of the major services is structured communications between the practitioners and the clients. In the Development Alternatives

study, a two way communications system was found to be a common element in projects with high local involvement. The study states:

An effective two-way communications system is one way of promoting small farmer involvement and has been identified as a necessary ingredient for project success. We define an effective two-way communications system as one which insures a continuing dialogue with small farmers and which affects project design and implementation.³⁶

The study outlines two systems that they uncovered in the 36 projects:

1. Structured communications systems, and
2. Unstructured communications systems.

The structured system usually consisted of a local discussion or meeting. The results of this interaction were then passed up to the regional and national level by elected representatives. The unstructured system consisted of informal dialogue between project staff and members of the community.³⁷

The unstructured system depends on the project staff to initiate the dialogue. The structured system mandates a time and place for dialogue, and the structured approach is, therefore, a more reliable system. The Development Alternatives study states:

Several projects had systems for collecting information from farmers . . . but they were limited to the information that project decision-makers felt was needed for project evaluation and monitoring. These efforts fall short of instituting a continuing dialogue. In other cases, rapport is established between farmers and local staff members, but the information never reaches project decision-makers. Structuring an effective two-way communications system into a project requires both a continuing dialogue with farmers and the means to transmit information to project decision-makers.³⁸

A structured two way communications system is a great resource for client participation, and a structured system of dialogue will help to

insure that the dialogue takes place.

Culture. The process of participation is not the same in every culture. This study is being written by an American, and this concept is being researched and developed by people who are either from a Western industrial heritage or trained in a Western industrial education. Americans and American institutions are particularly interested in participation, but the concept is also being applied to the rural populations of non-industrial countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The American influence on this concept is particularly strong because the total world development budget contains a disproportionate amount of American resources. However, the American cultural view of participation is different from other cultural views. American culture is highly individualistic and action oriented.

Alexis de Tocqueville wrote of America in 1830:

These Americans are the most peculiar people in the world. You'll not believe it when I tell you how they behave. In a local community in their country, a citizen may conceive of some need which is not being met. What does he do? He goes across the street and discusses it with his neighbor. Then what happens? A committee comes into existence and then the committee begins functioning on behalf of that need and you won't believe this, but it's true. All of this is done without reference to any bureaucrat. All of this is done by private citizens on their own initiative.³⁹

The ideal of individual, private action to meet community needs is not a uniquely American phenomenon, but in America this ideal has always been a dominant social value. It has taken on the appearance, in America, of a "law of nature." Even if this ideal emerges in the future of human history to be the accepted ideal by all of humanity,

it is not the reality of most social systems in the world today. This ideal can blind the practitioner to the possibilities within a community and can lead to a program whose participatory process is not in tune with the culture of the people who must participate.

In Indonesia, Nat Colletta came up against this constraint in his efforts at Participatory Research:

We encountered our first major obstacle from the Mayor. He had great concern over who would determine the definition of "participant" in our "participatory research" effort. It became clearer in his mind, and ours, that the definition of participation "Indonesian style" was a bit different than what we had envisioned. Our visions were of villagers, heads of households, the "grassroots"; his was that of village officials, government employees working in the District, and some of his staff.⁴⁰

Colletta admits that he was exerting an influence on the group process in this situation. That he "had brought together a group that would probably have never collected to discuss ideas that may never have occurred to them."⁴¹ But development, by definition, is not meant to keep the status quo but to facilitate a process of change. Colletta and his co-worker were working to discover a way to bring that interaction about within the context of that culture.

The rules of communication within a culture, the complexity of the system of status and respect and all the other factors that govern the interaction between individuals will mold the participatory process. The culture becomes a resource when the process is molded to be in tune with rather than in dissonance with the cultural environment.

The equal participation of all members of a community in one program may be a cultural impossibility, but the equal participation of all members of a community in several different programs that strive

towards the same end may be possible. The Development Alternatives study states that projects with high client participation were projects that were concentrated in one geographic area. The study states that:

Because of this focus, participants in each sub-project were usually from the same cultural or tribal group and shared a common socioeconomic status. Individual projects did serve a mix of cultural or tribal groupings, and this affected the rate of change and the manner in which it was introduced.⁴²

This cultural and socioeconomic similarity is important to the level of participation. One goal of a project could be to help diminish these cultural or tribal distances, but if this distance is not a major problem, then seeking a homogeneous group may facilitate local participation.

The necessary resource can be misunderstood to be cultural patterns that conform to a participatory ideal. This is an ethnocentric bias. Maximum participation in some cultures may not conform to a Western democratic model, but a culture specific model can develop. A design for participation that is in resonance with the cultural context of the project is the resource that is necessary.

People. A practitioner with participatory skills and attitudes is probably the key resource. The actions of this one person or persons can control the level and quality of participation in the project. Looking at the practitioner, Goodenough in Cooperation in Change came to this conclusion:

Whatever problems may arise in his relations with his clients, responsibility for resolving them falls primarily on the agent. To hold these problems at a minimum and to do the things that are needed to cope with them as they arise, an agent must be prepared to accept his clients

unconditionally as fellow human beings and to respect their persons in every way that such acceptance implies. Without such an attitude, moreover, it is difficult to overcome preliminary stereotypes, to make a serious effort to learn the language and customs of the client community, and to be undogmatic and flexible in action. An appropriate attitude toward people in general, and his clients in particular, can greatly reduce "culture shock" and lead an agent to develop relations with his clients that help sustain him emotionally. Of the many things that affect the course of community development, perhaps none is more important than the attitude of the development agent himself.⁴³

But he also says that:

The attitude of mind we have been talking about is not something that can be developed in a short indoctrination course. It is as much a product of an untroubled personality as anything else. . . .⁴⁴

A completely untroubled personality is hard to find, but there is some validity in trying to select practitioners who have a "participatory personality." There are people with personalities who will probably never be able to develop and work in a participatory process, but most people should be able to learn a collaborative style.

The clients, too, will have to learn this style. Taking power means taking responsibility, and responsibility can mean hard work, ridicule, envy and many other negative human experiences. Training for that responsibility should accompany the delegation of power, and both the training and delegation of power should proceed at a pace that is comfortable for the clients.

In most projects the practitioners are going to be able to control the level of participation. The practitioners will not be able to involve clients at a higher level than the clients wish to be, but the maximum level can be controlled by the practitioners by limiting resources and decision making power. Goodenough states:

The problem of course, is that successful management of a community's enterprises is something development agencies often feel to be more important than the actual development of the community's people. For one thing, they want the community's members to be spared the consequences of their mistakes. But they also are faced with the possibility of serious criticism from onlookers for whatever inefficiency and bumbling may occur in the learning process.⁴⁵

The major people resource is a commitment to participation by the practitioner. If this commitment to participation is strong, the next important resource is training for participation of the practitioners and the clients.

If a participatory process was a "law of nature," it would be more common. There must, therefore, be a need for training. If a program decides to institute this process, beginning activities should have as their primary goal, participation. Once both the clients and the practitioners have become familiar with what the participatory process means in their situation, they should be able to begin applying this process to solving their development problems.

Assumptions about Client Participation

This discussion of benefits and resources can now be made into a list of assumptions about client participation. In Chapter III this list will be made specific for media production, and in Chapters IV and V these assumptions will be discussed within the context of actual case studies. These assumptions imply that if the resources exist there will be an increase in client participation. They also imply that if client participation exists the benefits will occur, but for now they are only assumptions.

Benefits.

1. The use of client participation is consistent with an ethical framework that states that people should participate in the decisions that affect their lives.
2. The use of client participation is helpful for developing a process of conscientization as defined by Paulo Freire.
3. The use of client participation is helpful in training people in democratic processes.
4. The use of client participation can increase the quality and quantity of information for decision makers.
5. The use of client participation increases the effectiveness of adult education programs.
6. The use of client participation increases the material and human resources available to a development project.
7. The use of client participation increases the chances of successfully meeting the goals of a development project.
8. The use of client participation can help to defuse local protest against a project.
9. The use of client participation can help to lower the perception by the clients of a project of material and psychological risk.
10. The use of client participation can help to develop a sense of power, pride and progress in the members of a community.

Resources.

1. A neutral or collaborative image for a project is a useful resource for increasing client participation.

2. Governmental support and few governmental restrictions are useful resources for increasing client participation.
3. An apolitical image is a useful resource for increasing client participation.
4. A separate administrative arrangement that can function on a participatory model is a useful resource for increasing client participation.
5. Protection of the project from the hierarchical nature of its parent bureaucracy is a useful resource for increasing client participation.
6. The shielding of a project from its parent bureaucracy by one individual is a useful resource for increasing client participation.
7. The use of existing or the development of local client organizations is a useful resource for increasing client participation.
8. A structured form of two-way communications between the practitioners and the clients is a useful resource for increasing client participation.
9. A form of participation that is in tune with the culture of the clients is a useful resource for increasing client participation.
10. A homogeneous cultural group of clients is a useful resource for increasing client participation.
11. Practitioners who are capable of working in a collaborative manner are a useful resource for increasing client participation.

12. Training for the practitioners and clients in how to work collaboratively is a useful resource for increasing client participation.
13. Commitment by the practitioners to client participation is a useful resource for increasing client participation.
14. A pace that will allow participation to develop is a useful resource for increasing client participation.

For now these assumptions remain unproved, and the designing of hypotheses and research projects to test these hypotheses is, logically, the next step. The case studies in Chapters IV and V will offer evidence in support of these assumptions, but this study has not undertaken to develop and prove hypotheses about client participation. These assumptions are only guidelines for further research and experimentation.

CHAPTER III

PARTICIPATION IN MEDIA DEVELOPMENT

Educational media are an integral part of development projects in general and nonformal education projects in particular. Media are used to develop awareness of problems and solutions, as part of training courses, as self learning modules and in many other ways. Literacy, agriculture extension, health education and consciousness raising projects all use media. There is a tremendous amount of written material on the design, use and evaluation of media but very little on the role of client participation in media development.

Chapter II presented a definition of participation in development. The first goal of Chapter III is to take that definition and make it specific for the development of educational media for NFE. This gives the reader a framework for looking at the benefits and resources as they pertain to media in general and to the specific case studies in Chapters IV and V. This media specific definition may also help to clarify the definition of participation in the larger field of development.

The Matrix

In this chapter the matrix that was used in Chapter III is adapted for use with media, and the elements of the matrix are defined and discussed. The matrix for media development is different than the

matrix for development projects, and the matrix will probably have to be adapted for different activities. The explanation of the changes follows the description of the following example:

		Initiation	Design	Production	Utilization	Evaluation
Client	D.M.					
	Coop					
Media Facilitator	D.M.					
	Coop					
Content Specialist	D.M.					
	Coop					

D.M. = Decision Making
Coop = Cooperation

The stages of a nonformal education media project have different names, but these stages are equivalent to the more general five stages that were presented in the first chapter. These stages of a project are:

1. Initiation: the process that leads to a decision to begin a project and the initial decisions of who will participate on what, when, where and how.
2. Design: the activities and decisions that determine the form and content of the product.
3. Production: the activities and decisions that use the design to produce a final product.
4. Utilization: the activities and decisions that control the distribution and use of the final product.

5. Evaluation: the activities and decisions that analyze the effectiveness of the product and the success of the project. Evaluation includes the decision to continue or end the project.

There are elements of each of these stages of a project that overlap, but for simplicity they will be considered as separate events.

The Benefits stage has been replaced by Utilization. The benefits of a media development project might be greater than just the final product, but in most cases control of the project is control of the benefits. For media development, therefore, the benefits will be considered to be control of the project. Implementation has been replaced by Production. For media development, production of the final product is the implementation phase.

Some of the activities of the planning stage have been moved into the initiation stage to allow the planning stage to focus on design of the product. All of these changes are indicative of how the matrix must be altered to fit specific activities.

The list of participants, too, is slightly different than Chapter II. The Practitioners group has been split into two separate groups, Media Facilitators and Content Specialists. The participants are:

1. Clients: members of the group of ultimate users of the media--the individuals who are the learners in a nonformal education project.
2. Media Facilitators: the educational media or materials development people who have responsibility to develop the final

product.

3. Content Specialists: people who have responsibility to the funding agency or institution to meet a goal within some content area (e.g., health, agriculture, or literacy).

One person could have more than one of these roles, but for this study the roles will be considered separate individuals.

As in the earlier matrix a combined measure of the quality and quantity of cooperation or decision making could be zero, low, medium or high. The measure of quantity of cooperation or decision making is relatively easy to standardize. When quality of these two factors is added to the measure, an objective standard is less clear, and there have been no empirical studies on this aspect of client participation in materials development. Interviews with the participants in the Troy project that is described in Chapter IV and people who have some knowledge of the projects in Chapter V provide some assumptions about quality. The personal experience of the author and writings on participation in development also add some assumptions. Testing these assumptions is a crucial step in developing a usable model for participatory media development, and a discussion of these assumptions may help to generate further study. Though these assumptions need testing, this discussion will help clarify the matrix for media development, and further research will be able to refine this first attempt.

Each project is unique and the following discussion of quality will concern itself with the average project. Any single project may have one or several issues that will give a specific decision or

activity greater importance than might usually be the case. In these cases the clients should determine the measure of quality. If the clients place importance on any activity or decision in a project at any stage, that activity or decision increases in value for a quality measure. These special issues could arise in any stage of the project, but there are issues that appear to be common for most projects that are specific for each stage. The discussion of quality of decision making or cooperation will follow the stages of a project that are outlined on the matrix. In this discussion the two terms content specialist and media facilitator will sometimes be combined into the term practitioners.

Initiation. The first decision in the entire process is the decision to begin a project. This decision is almost always made by the practitioners. There are so few cases where NFE media production projects have been initiated by members of the client population that no conclusions can be drawn about this primary decision. If an agency has developed a collaborative relationship with members of its client population, determining who initiates a project may be very difficult. Even defining when a media development project begins may be difficult. An easier factor to measure in the initiation stage is how soon clients become involved in the process, and a very early involvement of clients will indicate a high level of participation.

Within the initiation stage the most important decision appears to be who participates. The other decisions of where and when the working group will meet, what technology will be used (i.e., print,

photography, etc.) and how the working sessions will be structured usually have no major effect on the product or process. Some of these decisions are constrained by resource availability, funding time limits, and work schedules. Where there is some conflict these issues are usually easily resolved.

The decision of who will represent the clients and which facilitators and content specialists will participate from the agency or institution that funds the project will affect both the product and the process. Without participation in these decisions, a high measure of decision making cannot be recorded in the initiation stage. The "who" decision refers to local organizations as well as to individuals.

In the initiation stage this decision of who will participate has the greatest value. The other decisions in the initiation stage all appear to have the same value but less than the who decision. The quality of cooperation in these other decisions appears to be related to how early in this stage of the project the clients are involved. The earlier the involvement the higher the measure of participation, but exclusion of clients from decisions about who will participate will cause a low rating.

Design. In the design stage of a project there are basically two types of decisions: form and content. Form decisions affect the physical design of the media. The layout of a printed material, the placement of photographs in a fotonovela and the camera angles in a video tape or film are all form decisions. Content decisions affect the message, story, characters and issues that are incorporated into the

media. Content decisions appear to be much more important than form decisions.

Some content decisions may be mandated by the funding agency. If a family planning agency is funding the media production, there must be a family planning message in the final product. High client decision making means that along with this message, the clients can include their own messages. The decisions of which aspects of family planning is another example of a form decision. If the material has a story line, then the decisions that influence the story are also important.

The content decisions produce the messages of the media. The form decisions merely refine the presentation of the messages. There are participation benefits from both of these activities, but content of the message is much more important. For high participation in the design stage, clients must be involved in the decisions and activities that affect the content of the final product.

Production. In the production stage, participation in the technical activities and decisions do not seem to be important. If the technical aspects of the production are easy or if there is some expertise already in the community (e.g., a photographer), then participation in these technical aspects of production might be encouraged. If the technology is difficult, participation in these aspects becomes important only if the project is interested in developing this resource in the community.

The important aspect of participation in production appears

to be participation in the final product. If the final product has a visual or auditory aspect (photography, radio, TV or film) then participation as actors or part of the background is very important. The maximum participation of both people and places from the client community will increase the benefits of participation.

The most important decision of all, though, is the determination of what will be the final product. During the design and production of a media, understanding what the final product will be like is difficult. For high decision making and cooperation in the production stage the clients who participate in the project must have control over the final product. The decision that the final product is finished and ready for release to other members of the community is a crucial decision. If the clients do not have the power to change the final product or veto its use, then they are not in control of the production stage. It is only when the final product is finished that the clients can decide that it says what they want to say.

Utilization. The important aspect of the utilization stage is who owns the final product. If the practitioners alone decide who will be able to use the final product and how it will be used, then the quality of client participation is very low. Who will see the final product is the most important decision at this stage of a project. If the clients control who sees the final product, then they have control over the benefits of the project.

Participation in the activities that interpret and explain the media are also important. Most media are part of a larger project,

and media are not presented as separate events but as part of the project. During the use of the media, the project staff can add a different interpretation or explanation of the message than was intended by the client participants. Decision making and cooperation in the activities of the larger project that relate directly to the use of the media is an indication of high client participation.

Who uses the media and how it is interpreted and presented are the important aspects of this stage of a project. If the participation of the clients in this stage are as owners (or co-owners) of the product, as if they had a copyright, then the client participation is high. If the participation of the practitioners is as if they alone own the product, then the client participation is less than high.

Evaluation. The lowest level of client participation in evaluation is the use of clients as informants or subjects of the evaluation. Participation becomes higher when the clients are involved in the collection and processing of data. The highest participation is when the clients are involved in the development of evaluation criteria and methods.

Evaluation can be viewed as having a range from simple feedback to objective monitoring by an outside agency. On the simple side of the range, evaluation is performed by the clients using their own methods, criteria and goals. On the objective end the evaluation is performed by an outside agency for the purposes of monitoring and judging performance. As the evaluation methodology moves toward the simple feedback approach it becomes more complementary to participation.

The primary decision of whether or not to have an evaluation is usually a closed decision. Some form of summative evaluation is usually mandated by the funding source. The evaluation methodology will probably have to be an accepted social science model. High client participation, therefore, usually means the clients are involved in the selection of evaluation criteria and the population sample and also in the collection and analysis of data.

If there has been high client participation up to this stage of the project, the clients should have some idea of what they intended to accomplish with the media. These goals may or may not be the same as the goals of the funding agency. If these client goals are included in the evaluation and if members of the client population are equally involved in the evaluation activities, a high measure of participation has been achieved.

Project Types

Chapter II presented five project types: nonparticipative, feedback, directed, collaborative and responsive. The matrix for media projects is similar to the matrices on pages 20 and 21 except that the planning, implementation and benefits stages are changed to the design, production and utilization stages, respectively. The levels of decision making and cooperation are the same, and, therefore, the matrices will not be reproduced here. Instead, a description of each type of project follows.

In a non-participative project the media is designed and produced by educational media specialists in collaboration with specialists

from a content area (e.g., health or agriculture). The criteria for form and content under the non-participative model are, usually, pedagogical and scientific. Members of the client group do not participate in any of the stages of the project.

In a feedback project, the media is still designed and produced by the media and content specialists, but members of the client group participate as subjects in a field tryout during the design stage and are subjects in the evaluation stage. The amount of participation of clients is not really very great in a feedback project, but there is some interaction between the clients and practitioners.

In the Directed type of project, the practitioners initiate the project, but the participation of the clients is encouraged in all stages of the project. This participation, though, is limited and controlled by the practitioners. In the design stage, the content is decided on by the practitioners and the clients are allowed to help with the design of the form of the media. In the production stage the clients and scenes from the community are part of the final product, but the practitioners make all the final decisions on production. In the utilization stage the clients participate in the distribution and use of the media, but the practitioners have ultimate control of the project. The media, in fact, belongs to the practitioners, and the clients are merely helping with the utilization. In the evaluation stage of the project, the clients are the subjects of the evaluation and the practitioners design and implement the evaluation.

In the Collaborative type, the practitioners initiate the project but the clients are brought in on an equal basis from the very

beginning. Throughout the project the clients and practitioners are equal partners. The media facilitator acts as an intermediary between the content specialists and the clients. The clients have the responsibility to design a media presentation to use to educate their community. The content specialists work with this group to define the problem and develop a solution. The media facilitator directs this process and acts, when needed, as a technician for photography, graphics, layout, taping or whatever is needed. The decisions of form and content are made collaboratively by the clients, media facilitator and content specialists. The clients have control with the practitioners of the final product, and the clients participate in the evaluation as more than mere subjects.

In the Responsive type, the clients initiate the project, and the practitioners are asked to help by supplying funds and expertise about the design, production, utilization and evaluation of media and the technical aspects of the content area. The clients remain in control of the project and the practitioners act as consultants.

These brief explanations are descriptions of hypothetical cases. Classifying real case studies is a bit more difficult, but the descriptions of projects in Chapters IV and V will indicate that these categories have validity. Most projects fit easily into one of these five types. Before describing the case studies the benefits and resources from Chapter II will be discussed within the specific context of NFE media.

Benefits and Resources

The benefits and resources presented in Chapter II also apply to media development, but media is a more specific example than development or nonformal education. Since these benefits and resources can be presented in a more specific way for media, they will be presented in a different format.

The benefits will be presented from the viewpoint of process and product. First the benefits of client participation on the final product will be presented. Then the benefits of a participatory process other than the effect on the final product will be examined. There are benefits to the use of a participatory process that are separate from the effects on the product, and these process effects might be lost if the study focused too narrowly on the product.

The resources necessary for participatory media development will be presented from three points of view: client, media facilitator and content specialist. The client group also includes the community, formal and informal community organizations, the client culture, and the members of the client community who participate in the project. The media facilitator will be viewed as separate from the organizational structure. The content specialist group includes the funding agency, the government, the political system and the members of the agency who participate in the project.

This analysis will allow for the grouping of the two primary poles of this process, client and practitioner. The media facilitator role appears to be important enough to stand alone for the purposes

of analysis. This separation will give a clarity to the presentation of personality traits, knowledge and skills that the facilitator needs to be effective, and this role appears to be critical to the process.

Benefits of the product. One assumption from Chapter II states that client participation can increase the effectiveness of an adult education program. In the case of media projects this means a more effective final product. For media to be effective it must first attract and hold the attention of the user. There are many methods that can help produce media that attract and hold the attention of the users, but these designs require professional skills and creativity that may not be available. Combining the educational message with an issue that the target population is interested in or an element of the culture that is very popular is one of these methods. With members of a target population involved in the design of media, such issues or elements are easily developed. Without local participation research into these issues and elements would be needed before they could be used to promote an educational message, and there is always a chance of cross-cultural misunderstanding.

Once the attention of the client is attracted, the final product must be understandable to the user. Most countries have more than one language or dialect and several cultures or sub-cultures. Ghana, for example, has over fifty local languages and as many separate cultures.⁴⁶ Fuglesang has shown that there are cultural differences in the perception of graphics and photography,⁴⁷ and there are subtler perceptions of "cultural relevance" that are being researched but are not yet fully

understood. National level experts cannot be expected to be fluent in all of the languages of their country, and it would also be impossible to be fluent in so many different cultures and sub-cultures. By involving members of the client population in the design and production of materials, the language and cultural problems can be resolved. The use of translators who are members of the client group is another possible solution. Translation, though, is a very complicated and difficult procedure to do well, and the translator may add elements from the dominant (and usually higher status) national or foreign language and culture.

Another assumption is that client participation can increase the resources available to a project. In media production this means increasing the variety of final products without increasing the costs. Producing a larger variety of locally produced materials in small quantities should not be much more expensive than producing a large quantity of a smaller variety of centrally and professionally produced materials. Mass production can lead to cost savings, but locally produced materials can use cheaper raw materials and production methods. If local input adds to the attraction of the media, then less expense should be needed in producing an attractive finished product. One of the benefits, then, is variety. The centralized product requires the input of expensive talent and materials to make the product attractive, interesting and understandable. Producing a large variety of media in this way would be expensive. The use of clients to design and produce media increases the resources without increasing the costs.

This variety is important for the cultural and language reasons mentioned before, but it also has some pedagogical rationales. If literacy is one of the goals of the project that is considering a participatory approach, then variety can be of great benefit. After people have learned the elements of reading (the alphabet, words and structures), they need to practice those skills. The Unesco Secretariat wrote in 1959:

Yet it was early recognized that without adequate follow-up to these efforts, without making provisions very early in the planning of literacy campaigns for an extensive range of reading materials on which the hard-won skills could be exercised, time, effort and money put into literacy teaching would be dissipated. Failure to do this has been one of the main reasons why literacy campaigns have earned more tombstones than monuments. To quote one of the present contributors, "Literacy without literature is a contradiction in terms."⁴⁸

At this point in the learning process reading is still very difficult, and if the available, simple reading material is not interesting the practice is difficult. "Interesting" is an individual judgment, and what is interesting to one person may be dull to another. A large variety of materials are likely to provide the interesting materials needed for the motivation to practice literacy skills.

The products of a participatory approach can also be useful to a large mass production effort. A variety of local materials can provide the substance for a national or regional mass media or mass circulation program. Since there has been local input, the mass produced product will share the local interest factor. Even for those areas whose local product is not included, the understanding of the process of producing the similar local product will lend interest.

This phenomenon is very much like amateur interest in professional sports. People who play tennis for recreation or who played it when they were in school have a greater interest in a professional tennis match than people who have never played the sport. This same effect may be true of media production. This variety and level of interest with a mass circulation media will be easier and less expensive to produce with the participation of clients in the design and production of the media.

The use of client participation can help to develop a sense of power, pride and progress in the minds of the members of a community is another assumption from Chapter II. The final product can be a communication by members of a community to their fellow citizens. Control of media is usually in the hands of a few powerful people. The people who appear in media are usually of the dominant ethnic group, caste or class. Media has a high status, and the people who appear on the media are usually of the high status group. Seeing and hearing people of their own ethnic group, caste or class in media products may give people a better feeling about themselves and their community. They, too, are worthy of the high status media. If this effort does raise peoples' sense of worth, this positive feeling will be beneficial to development of the community. If people see their group portrayed as meeting and solving problems within the context of this high status media, they may feel more confidence, have more pride in their community and develop a feeling of power that will help them solve their problems.

There is also a benefit in Freirean terms. Freire's method

of praxis involves the objectifying of everyday reality so that this reality may be analyzed and reflected upon. This is done by the development of generative themes and coded situations. An important theme (the status of women, the control of the school system, or the maldistribution of goods and services are examples of generative themes) within everyday life is made into an object of reflection. This reflection can be done with drawings, photography, games or plays. These media are the coded situations. People then reflect upon and discuss these codes as abstract situations. The discussion then moves to concrete real situations and back to the abstract. This Freire calls decoding. From this reflection Freire sees people developing a plan and then acting upon the situation to change it.⁴⁹

The participatory process can be used to produce a fotonovela, radio program, poster or any other media about one of the generative themes of a community. The client participants and other members of the community then have a coded situation of that theme. This code can be used in the same way Freire used his coded situations, but Freire used outsiders to develop these materials.

Benefits from the process of participation. One assumption is that client participation will increase the chance of success of a project. The success of a media project is measured by the popularity of the media and a change in the client community. The change may be an awareness of a problem, knowledge about solutions to that problem or skills to help solve the problem.

In a non-participatory project, the process of designing and

producing the media takes place outside of the experience of the clients. The product is put together by professionals in an office completely removed from the client community, and the people who work on the product are not members of that community.

The client participants in a participatory project will remain in the community. These participants can act to promote the use of the product among their friends and family. If the number of participants is large enough, these promoters could make a significant difference in the distribution and utilization of a product. These promoters would not exist if a non-participatory process had been used, since all of the participants would remain outside of the community.

If the process of design and production takes place in the client community, some of the prospective users of the product have a chance to see part of the process. If the users don't see the process, they may hear about it from friends or family. The issues, problems, knowledge or skills that the project is concerned with will be discussed before the product is finished. This process will cause people to become interested in the final product, and some awareness and learning will also occur. If the product was designed and produced outside the community, these benefits would be missed.

Another assumption is that client participation can help defuse protest. If the members of the community that are against the project are invited to participate in the media development, there is an opportunity to resolve the issues of concern. The production of media is less threatening than the changes that the larger project will make in the community. Since the media product is only a description

of the proposed change, the change can be analyzed and discussed with less emotion. If clients who are in favor of the project are also included, the discussion can become a dialogue between pro- and anti-project forces in the community. This will allow the two groups to work out a compromise or come to a majority decision. If the conflict is resolved, the media product can be a presentation of the two sides of the issue and the compromise.

This process of dialogue in the community is also part of another assumption. Client participation can provide training in democratic processes. Even when there is no opposition to a project, the use of client participation provides an opportunity for members of a community to come together, discuss a problem, develop a solution and implement that solution. If a consensus or a majority decision is required for the production of media, the community will begin to structure a democratic process for arriving at that decision. This process may not develop into the Western model of "one person-one vote," but whatever model develops it can be refined through practice. In many communities (even in the Western democracies) there is seldom a chance to practice democratic processes on a local level. Media production is an emotionally low level activity. The dialogue that leads to a consensus or majority opinion can take place with media development more easily than other more important development decisions. The process that develops for media can be used later for more difficult decisions (e.g., the allocation of resources).

This process of working towards a consensus or majority opinion leads to another assumption. The use of client participation can help

lessen the perception of material and psychological risk. If the community as a whole or a significant number of the leaders in the community have come to a decision, this should lower the perception of risk. Members of the community, in a sense, have sanctioned the message in the media. If other people in the community have already taken a position in some media product, that position is easier for others to take. If the risk is material, the client participants can try to resolve that problem. At the least they can present the correct dimensions of the risk. The client participants might also be able to develop a method for sharing or lessening the risk. This, too, could be put into the media product.

The participants from the client group develop an increased awareness and understanding of the agency that is promoting the project and the objectives of that agency. There is a similar effect upon the participants from the agency. One effect on the practitioners is an increase in the quality and quantity of information available to the agency people. Employees of service agencies usually come in contact with their clients, if they do at all, in the role of a scientific surveyor, law enforcer or teacher. In a participatory process the agency and client participants come together to identify and attempt to solve a problem. After the media product is completed, there is a resource within the agency who knows the client group. Within the community a resource is produced that understands and may promote the agency and its objectives. This is no small accomplishment, and if the relationship is developed the agency will have a window into the client group that has qualities that a statistical survey will never

have.

The last assumption about the benefits of client participation concerns the ethics of the project. Client participation is consistent with an ethical framework that states that people should participate in the decisions that affect their lives. The decisions needed to design and produce nonformal education media are not the most important decisions that will affect the lives of the clients of that media, but if an agency wants to involve clients, that participation must begin somewhere. Beginning with less important decisions is easier than trying to begin with important decisions. Working collaboratively with media development is one way for both the practitioners and the clients to become comfortable with equal participation. This collaboration can then move into more important areas of planning and project implementation.

Client resources. Involving all of the clients of a media product in the production of that product is usually impossible. The usual practice is to have representative members of the client population participate. Who participates from the client group is one of the crucial first decisions of a project, and the correct decision is a major resource. Four of the assumptions from Chapter II are concerned with this resource.

The first resource is a homogeneous cultural group of clients. If the target population is a well defined homogeneous group, choosing "typical" participants becomes easier. The value of client participation is that it involves people who are like the ultimate users of a

media in the development of the final product. If the target population has several different groups of people and the client participants are from only one group, some people have no representation in the final product. People from each group could be participants, but this may be a more difficult group to work with. The decisions that this group makes will have to be compromises between differing points of view, and the compromise may not be valid for any of the groups. Having various groups in a community reach a compromise may be the goal of the project. In that case diversity is a positive resource. If the message is not concerned with different groups working together a homogeneous group is preferable.

The use of a homogeneous group is not just for cultural similarity. The group should also be similar to the clients of the project. If the goal of a media product is to change the attitudes of people in a community, people whose attitudes have already changed are the easiest to work with. The project, though, is trying to affect the people whose attitudes have not yet changed. These are the right people to work with. Within this group economic and cultural similarity is still a positive resource.

The second assumption is that the form of participation should be in tune with the culture of the clients. If the clients are in one cultural group, developing a culturally sensitive form of participation is less complicated. The more restricted the definition of the group, the easier it is to develop the form of participation. Within a linguistic-cultural group, there are subgroups of economic class, male and female, city dweller and rural. The clearest example is male

and female. In a traditional male dominated community, the equal participation of men and women in one group may be impossible. If the participation is not equal, the benefits of participation will also not be equal. If the project is divided into two sub-projects (one for men and one for women), the equal participation of each group will be easier. The final product, then, will be valid for both groups.

Two crucial decisions are who participates and how these participants are chosen. There is no method that would fit every case. The method should develop from a compromise between the desire of the project to have a representative group and the cultural constraints on a democratic process that exist within the culture. There may be social or religious leaders in the community whose participation is mandatory. There may be elements in the community whose participation would be destructive to the project. The ideal resource would be people who are both representative and who will be listened to by their peers. These people, though, may not be the easiest group to work with. This leads to the next assumption.

The third assumption is that training on how to collaborate is a resource to a project. Before the project reaches the design stage, the clients should be aware of why this participation is important and how this participation relates to the other goals of the project. A natural reaction from clients might be to agree with the content and media specialists. The training should help the clients to feel comfortable with their responsibility. This will allow the client input that is the goal of the participatory process. If the same group can work together on several projects, they should improve the quality of

their participation. If this is not possible, training can be used to simulate the experience of working together.

The fourth assumption states that the use of existing organizations or the development of local client organizations can be helpful to developing participation. Local organizations can also supply a method for choosing the client participants. If the organizations are representative of the community, their decisions should meet the criteria mentioned earlier of being representative and credible. These organizations will also add a community structure to the project that will be useful in the production, utilization and evaluation stages. The organizations will be able to call on their members to participate in the production stage if large numbers of people are needed. The organization can also help to promote the use of the media and provide a sample population to evaluate the final product.

Media facilitator resources. The role of the media facilitator is the key role, and training of the facilitator is a key resource. Ideally the media facilitator has a commitment only to the process and the final product. On the other hand, the client should have a commitment to the needs of the community and the Content Specialist to the needs of the agency. These two polar roles of client and content specialist should be pushing to meet the goals of their constituencies, but the media facilitator should be pushing for compromise and conflict resolution. The media facilitator, therefore, should be trained to help the two groups achieve a common goal while they remain true to their separate objectives.

Two other assumptions from Chapter II are that the practitioners should be committed to and capable of a collaborative style. Training individuals to play the role of facilitator is possible, but choosing a media facilitator who is committed to client participation is a prerequisite for training. The media facilitator must be able to manage the project without imposing his or her will on the form and content of the product. The facilitator must also step in and help in the design and production stage when the clients and specialists have reached an impasse, but he or she must perform this interaction at the most minimal level. The media specialist must be able to participate without dominating and must also be able to remain detached and still manage the course of events. A person who is too shy or one who is too domineering probably cannot be trained to perform this task, but if the producer is capable of working in a collaborative style and committed to participation, training can help to refine his or her skills.

Two other assumptions concern the image of the project. A neutral or collaborative image and an apolitical image are both resources for a project. The media facilitator is the intermediary between the clients and the content specialists. Presenting an image of the project to these two sides is part of the media facilitator's role. The media specialist must be aware of the image held by the clients and work to develop a collaborative image. She or he must also work with the political and governmental forces to present an apolitical image.

As intermediary the media facilitator also must develop a

structured two-way communications system between the clients and the experts. The concept of client participation involves the collaboration of the two groups, and without a communication system the collaboration will not work. The communication system, though, will be much more effective if it is structured, and the facilitator is the person who has this responsibility.

The last hypothesis that concerns the media facilitator is the regulation of the pace of the project. The pace should allow participation to develop. The media facilitator's position allows for some control over the pace of the project. The time constraints of the two sides, content specialist and clients are controlled by different forces. The content specialists have bureaucratic deadlines and specific work schedules. The clients, if they are not paid, will be participating only if their interest or feelings of responsibility are maintained, and these feelings might wane if the project is too slow. The clients also have outside pressures on their time. Both sides may also need time to become comfortable with the new collaborative relationship. The media specialist is in a position to understand both sides without being part of one group, and he or she can negotiate a productive pace.

This last quality of a media facilitator, separate from either of the two groups, is a quality that makes the facilitator able to function as a resource. The two sides are coming together with different ideas and concerns, and the facilitator must help them to negotiate. If the facilitator has an allegiance to one side, the intermediary position becomes difficult. A committed and trained media

facilitator who is free of bias for one side is an important resource to the project.

Content specialist resources. The two hypotheses about commitment to and capability of working in a collaborative style are important for the content specialists, too. In a participatory process the definition of the problem and the solution is reached through a dialogue between client and content specialist. If the content specialist has a strong preconceived notion of the problem and the proper solution, the dialogue will be difficult. The content specialist will, usually, have a definition of the problem and a notion of a proper solution, but she or he must also have a willingness to change these concepts through dialogue with the client group. The first level of resource, then, is an ability and willingness to redefine preconceived notions.

The second level of resource is an attitude that the clients' perceived needs and desires are of equal importance and validity as those of the agency. This can be a difficult attitude to maintain for a content specialist who is trained in scientific methods. The major concerns of the community may be unscientific, mystical or personal. The clients may also not perceive the problem that the content specialist is concerned with as important at all. If a content specialist finds it difficult to understand the validity of the clients' reality, she or he may not be willing to compromise. Training can help the content specialist to improve a collaborative style, and this training is a resource. The content specialist, though, must be capable of a collaborative style and committed to client participation.

The client group may be functioning on a different time schedule than the agency, and the clients may also have a different concept of efficiency and order. Some people and most bureaucracies find it difficult to conform to changing procedures, time schedules and concepts of quality, efficiency and order. Client communities tend to be less structured than bureaucracies, and this may produce a conflict. A content specialist and an agency that is willing to alter their usual procedures is a great resource, but as was mentioned in Chapter II, this is a rare resource.

There are four assumptions that are concerned with administration and bureaucracy that are all related. If the policy makers in the organization support the project, the project can build its own participatory administrative system. If the clients are going to have equal power with the experts, there are decisions that will be made by the clients for which the bureaucracy will hold the content specialist responsible. If one of the content specialists is willing to shield the project from the hierarchical nature of the bureaucracy, this is a major resource to the project.

This one person can free the project from some of the constraints of the bureaucracy (e.g., deadlines, time schedules, paperwork and slow decision making processes). The project will have more freedom to administer itself on a participatory model, and the clients will be able to have greater responsibility in the project. This power and responsibility is the essence of participation, and protection from the bureaucracy will allow this distribution of power more effectively. A member of the content specialist group who is willing

and able to play this role is a major resource to the project.

The reader now has a clearer picture of participation of clients in NFE media projects. The definitions, matrix, types of projects, benefits and resources will be discussed in the next chapter in the context of a real case study.

CHAPTER IV

THE TROY PROJECT

This chapter will describe a project in Troy, New York and analyze it with the matrix, project types, benefits and resources presented in Chapters II and III. The project produced a photo-novel titled A Working Neighborhood: What Does It Take? This photonovel was concerned with community action for rodent control and was funded by the New York State Department of Health.

Photonovels are a popular form of literature in Latin America (fotonovela in Spanish) and some parts of Africa. Photonovels look like American comic books, but photographs are used in place of drawings. Like comic books, the dialogue is written in balloons that appear to come out of the mouths of the characters, and the action is usually that of a dramatic or comic story.⁵⁰

Photonovels have some specific advantages in community production of educational media. The technology involved in the production of photonovels is relatively simple and inexpensive. Producing a photograph that is understandable to most people is easy. The photographs of an amateur may not be perfect, but most people can take photographs that are understandable. The talent to produce understandable drawings takes a good deal of training. There is, also, research that indicates that photographs (and the photonovel format in particular) are a more reliable form of communication than drawings.⁵¹

In the design stage of the photonovel, stick figure drawings can be used, and most people can draw these figures. Since there is a visual representation of the story during the design stage, several people can work together as a group. Everyone in the group can see the story as it develops and make comments and suggestions at each step of that development. This group writing process is much more difficult when there is no graphic representation of the story.⁵²

The clients in this project were the residents of the northwest section of the City of Troy, an economically depressed area. The content specialists were three officials from the State Health Department (Steve Frantz, Karen Kalijian and Karl Westphal) one of whom was the Director of the Rodent Control Evaluation Laboratory of the State of New York. The Research Laboratory is located in Troy, and the Director has responsibility for researching approaches to rodent control as well as the biology of rodents. The media facilitators were two consultants from the Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts (the author and Ms. Bonnie Cain). Both consultants had experience in client participation in materials development.

Using the five types presented in Chapter II, this project can be classified as Collaborative. Members of the client community participated in all stages of the project, and the clients had decision making power in all stages of the project. The matrix below will give more detail about the level of participation at each stage, and each stage will be discussed after this general introduction. The matrix is:

		Initiation	Design	Production	Utilization	Evaluation
Clients	D.M.	Medium	High	High	Medium	Low
	Coop	Medium	High	High	Medium	Low
Media Facilitators	D.M.	High	Low	High	High	High
	Coop	High	High	High	High	High
Content Specialists	D.M.	High	Medium	High	High	High
	Coop	High	High	High	High	High

D.M. = Decision Making
Coop = Cooperation

This project was begun in late Fall 1976 and the photonovel was completed and released in late Spring 1978. This long delay will be explained in the description that follows. The community was 13% Black and 87% White, and the total population was about 10,500.⁵³

Initiation

The northwest section of Troy has a significant rodent problem, and the causes of this problem are multiple and complicated. Both the State and County governments have rodent control departments that have responsibility for this area, but the resources of the government are not sufficient to eliminate all of the causes of the rodent infestation. Both the State and County have school and community education materials (pamphlets, posters and films), but these materials have not been completely successful in educating the residents of Troy nor have these materials mobilized the community to take action to solve this problem. Both the State and the County officials state that community and individual resident action is necessary to eliminate the

causes of rodent infestation.

The Director of the Rodent Laboratory had seen some work that the two consultants from the Center for International Education had done with farm workers in Massachusetts. In that project students in basic English classes had produced photonovels to be used for reading material in their classes (the project is discussed in Chapter V). After some discussion a decision was made to try the same techniques of client produced materials in Troy.

A practitioner group of the two consultants (media facilitators) and three people from the State Health Department (content specialists) was formed. This group first met to discuss what they were going to do and to decide on a strategy. These people were going to facilitate the process, but they were also going to be participants in the process of producing this material. They all expressed a commitment to having the material designed and produced by people from the community, but the content specialists were not sure how to develop this client participation. There was a real possibility that the practitioners would dominate the process and design the material themselves, rather than facilitate the design of the material by members of the community. Cutting down on the size of the practitioner group was considered, but one of the goals of the project was to train these three people to be able to do this kind of work after the consultants had left. The two consultants felt more comfortable working as a team.

As a way to control this possible dominance of the process, the practitioner group processed each day's experience in the following manner. Each person would speak, at the end of the day, to these two

questions:

1. When did you feel uncomfortable and why?
2. When did you observe someone else being uncomfortable, and why were they uncomfortable?

The first question allowed each practitioner to talk about the times when she or he wanted to say or do something but restrained himself or herself to allow members of the community to speak or act. The second question directed each practitioner's attention toward the feelings of the community members. If the community people were comfortable and enjoying themselves, the work was probably progressing well, but if they were uncomfortable there might have been a problem that should be considered. This daily process helped mold the behavior of the practitioners and kept them from dominating the design of the photo-novel.

The practitioner group first met with people from the County Health Department who explained their view of the problem and offered help. The County officials had a detailed view of the rodent problem in Troy, and they suggested the northwest section of the city for the project. These County officials said that the rodent problem was most acute in this area, and they offered the help of their community worker for an introduction into the neighborhood.

The County community worker introduced the practitioner group to a retired County rodent control worker who lived in the neighborhood and to his daughter who lived on the same street. The project was discussed with them, and the daughter agreed to help. Her father was too ill to participate actively, but he promised to do what he could.

The daughter, Maxine, introduced the practitioners to a neighborhood organization, Unity House. This organization was not interested in the project, and Maxine suggested another organization, N-ACT. N-ACT (The Neighborhood Action Council of Troy, Inc.) is a coalition of ten neighborhood organizations in Troy, and is funded as a non-profit corporation by grants from the federal government, the Catholic Campaign for Human Development and private donations. Maxine arranged a meeting for the group with the staff of N-ACT.

The next meeting took place at the offices of N-ACT with the salaried staff of the organization. The project was presented by the practitioners to two of the staff (both were residents of Troy), and they agreed to participate. They suggested that we also contact the Troy Inter-City Neighborhood Council (TINC). TINC is another non-profit organization funded by government grants, the United Way and private donations that had a community center building called Our Center in the target area. N-ACT staff also suggested the names of several community people who might be interested in participating. The director of N-ACT agreed to arrange the meeting at TINC, and Maxine agreed to contact some of the community people.

The TINC meeting started late and very little was accomplished there. The project was presented to the people who attended (the Director of TINC and one community member at the beginning of the meeting, and several other community people and the Director of N-ACT came later). Reasons for doing the project and the problems in the neighborhood were discussed. Agreement was reached that the project would begin with the help of TINC and N-ACT and that the meetings would

be held at the TINC center.

The afternoon of the same day as the TINC meeting, there was a meeting at Maxine's house. Some of the people who were at the TINC meeting came to the second meeting as did the practitioner group. The meeting at Maxine's house was a general discussion of the rodent problem. Maxine and her neighbors were asked if they had seen any rats or had experienced any ill effects from rats. There were some stories of rat bites, but in general rats were not perceived as a personal problem. The trash in vacant lots in the neighborhood, though, was perceived as a major problem by the community people, and the rodent control officials said that this trash was a contributing factor to the rodent problem. In fact, the county had suggested this as a good subject for the photonovel in the first meeting with them. This trash provides harborage and breeding space for the rats and, in the cases where garbage is present, food.

The client group discussed this trash problem. Most of the vacant lots were owned by absentee landlords or the City government, and neighbors were keeping the lots clean. Several possible solutions were discussed including action by the City Department of Public Works, action by the County Rodent Control Division, individual action and community action. The City government was considered unresponsive, but there was no one at the meeting from the City to respond. The County worker said that the county had a truck and a crew that could help, but the crew would need help from the residents of the neighborhood to completely solve the problem. Some form of community or individual action was necessary to clean up the vacant lots.

The discussion ranged over several other issues. City government, other community organizations and previous community action programs were discussed. While this discussion was taking place one of the media specialists was taking black and white polaroid photos. At the end of the discussion, the producers showed copies of a photonovela to the people at the meeting and described the previous project. The polaroid photos were then given to Maxine, and she was asked to arrange them into a story. She arranged them into a description of the meeting that had just taken place. The people in the room then considered ways in which the photonovel format could be used. All of the community people were urged to participate in the project and were told about the beginning session that would be held at TINC.

The original decision to begin the project was made by the practitioners, but members of the community were brought into the project very early. The practitioners also had decided that the project would produce a photonovel and that rats should be part of the content. Though members of the community and community organizations were participating very early, the initiation stage of the project was being managed by the practitioners. The decision of who would participate from the community was not made by the practitioners, but the role of the clients in this decision is unclear. The County rodent control people and the two community organizations suggested people based on their understanding of what the practitioners needed for the project. The people who participated in the design stage were, for the most part, from this suggested list. The practitioners placed no restriction on who participated.

In the initiation stage this project rates a medium for both decision making and cooperation. This is a good rating. If the clients had made the initial decision and managed this stage, the project would have been a responsive type and the ratings would have been high on both decision making and cooperation. The who decision was made collaboratively and the clients were brought into the process very early. By the end of this stage there were several community people involved, and the group was ready to begin the design stage.

Design

The first design meeting took place at Our Center and lasted about three hours. The goals of this meeting were to decide what issues would be included in the photonovel and to develop an outline of the story. The earlier discussion of trash in vacant lots was reconsidered. The client participants decided that the trash problem should be a central theme in the photonovel. There was other rodent control information that the content specialists felt was important. This information, it was decided, could be added on three separate pages that would be presented as if they were ads in a magazine.

The issue that was most on the minds of the community, though, was racial. This neighborhood had been all white, but now black families were beginning to move into the community. This was an issue that the client participants were really interested in, and, therefore, this issue was added to the story. The final story concerned a black and a white family who live next door to each other with a vacant lot between their two houses. The two families express

and then resolve their racial tensions, and they come together with the rest of the community around the issue of trash in vacant lots.

The story opens with James (who is black) and George (who is white) working at the same factory. They find out that some of the workers are going to be laid off. When George goes home he tells his wife about the possible layoff, and they discuss how they are going to get by on unemployment payments. George and his wife agree that James will not get laid off because he is one of the factory's token blacks, and George says that James doesn't take care of his machine at work. This leads to a discussion of the vacant lot (which they assume James owns) and the rats that the garbage in the lot is attracting.

Across the lot in James' house the same conversation is going on between him and his wife. They are sure that James will be laid off, and James' wife says, "Last hired and first fired." James also feels that George leaves his machine a mess, and that leads to complaints about the garbage in the lot that they think is owned by George.

While James is looking out his window at the lot he notices that his children and George's children are in a fight. He goes downstairs to break up the fight, but George is there too. The two men begin arguing with each other about the trash and the vacant lot, and they leave angry at each other.

The next day both George and James are laid off, but they don't know that the other has been fired until they meet a few days later in the unemployment line. Finally they begin talking in the unemployment office, and George offers James a ride home. On the ride home they apologize to each other about the argument. When they arrive

at the lot, they see a stranger dumping trash out of his car into the lot, and they finally discover that neither of them are causing the problem. They also find out that neither of them owns the lot.

They make a few visits to the City Hall and finally find out that the lot is owned by the City, but the City government does nothing to clean up the lot. Finally they get some of their neighbors together at Our Center and discuss the problem. There are many vacant lots in the neighborhood, and all of these lots have trash and garbage on them. Everyone would like to get them cleaned up, but they don't know how. James has found out about the County Health Department truck, and someone suggests that they should get together as a community and help the truck. They all agree, and the next two pages of the story show everyone coming together and cleaning up the lot.

The last page shows James and George at the unemployment office again. They find out that the factory is going to hire people back in a month. James suggests that they should buy the lot together once they get back to work. The last frame has James saying, "You know something. If we could get the lots cleaned up, we could probably get many other things done in this community." George replies, "And there is much to be done here if we all work together."

The final product did not have the extra rodent control information in the ad format. This space was used up with acknowledgments of everyone who helped or appeared as actors on the project, ads for TINC and N-ACT and a photo of the neighborhood taken from a tall building.

In three sessions (each sessions was about 2 to 3 hours) over

a period of 4 weeks, the clients and practitioners wrote the story and made a final draft. The writing was done with everyone sitting around a table in Our Center. One person had a magic marker and some large pieces of newsprint, and this role of transcriber was alternated among the different members of the group. One of the consultants took this transcriber role first, but later the clients and the content specialists took this responsibility. First a general outline of what would happen on each page of the photonovel was written down, and then the group expanded each page with stick figures. The final draft had detailed stick figure drawings of the people, places, props and dialogue that would be needed in the final product. This final draft was used for the photography sessions and for developing the final layout for printing.

The decision making and cooperation measures for the design stage are both high for the clients. The clients took part in every design session. The theme, story, dialogue, characters and action were all decided either by the clients or by the clients in collaboration with the practitioners. When the clients and specialists came to a difficult section of the story, the facilitators would offer ideas, but these ideas were always within the framework that the clients had set. The specialists, too, offered suggestions about specifics in the story, but their comments were also within the framework that the clients had constructed.

The content decisions, therefore, were made collaboratively by the clients and practitioners. The form decisions were influenced by the facilitator's previous experience with photonovel production.

The clients and specialists were willing to follow the advice of the producers about number, placement and size of the photographs and other details of the final draft. As was stated in Chapter III, the form decisions are of less importance than the content decisions.

Production

From the first contact between the practitioners and the clients to the production of the final draft of the photonovel design was about six weeks. From the completion of the final draft design to the first photography session was about four months. This long gap was caused by the beginning of Winter. The snow cover made it impossible to photograph the vacant lot and the cleanup. When the practitioners were ready to begin photographing, the interest and energy of the client participants had lessened.

The practitioners contacted the two community organizations and these organizations contacted the participants from the design stage. Other people in the community were also contacted, and eventually there was a full complement of actors. Most of the photographs involved only a few people, but when larger numbers were needed, the friends and neighbors of the client participants were willing to cooperate.

To photograph the neighborhood cleanup, the two community organizations arranged a real cleanup campaign. The County sent its truck and several lots were cleaned up. Most of the photographs were taken by the Director of the rodent control laboratory (who is an excellent photographer) and the two consultants.

The Director of the Rodent Control Laboratory put together the final layout. He had assistance from the Photographic Unit and the Publicity Department of the State Health Department, but he did most of the layout work and had responsibility for the final layout. The media facilitators at this time were not available to work, and the Director was the only person with the skills who was in Troy and could consult with the clients. The client participants were consulted several times during the layout phase and gave approval to the final layout.

Since only one person was available (and only part-time) to work on the layout and since he had to depend on other agencies in the Health Department to help him, the final layout took eight months to finish. Once the layout was finished, another several months was needed for the printer to complete his work. The printer was a local small company in the neighborhood. There were a few more delays, and the final product was ready for distribution about 18 months after the project began.

The measure of both decision making and cooperation for the clients in the production stage is high. There were over 40 people from the neighborhood whose photographs appear in the final product, and all of the scenes are in the neighborhood or near the neighborhood in downtown Troy. Though the practitioners took care of the technical aspects of the production, the client participants were consulted and were asked to approve the final product.

Utilization

The practitioners wanted to have an evaluation of the effectiveness of the material, and, therefore, kept the copies of the final product locked up for two months while the evaluation instruments were designed. Two copies were acquired by one of the client participants from a friend who worked at the printer, but generally all of the copies were kept at the research laboratory.

The directors of the two organizations TINC and N-ACT were contacted and asked to participate in the utilization and evaluation. They both agreed to help. Some of the other people who were involved had left the neighborhood or were no longer members of the two organizations. Most of the client participants had lost their enthusiasm for the project during the long delay.

At the time of the utilization, in fact, the directors of TINC and N-ACT were the only clients who showed much interest, and they both had other more pressing concerns. One of the media facilitators (the author), the director of the lab and the two organization directors reached a decision on the method of distribution. One of the directors objected to the evaluation, but he later agreed. Two hundred copies of the photonovel (1,000 were printed) would be mailed out to people in the community as part of the evaluation (the evaluation is explained in the next section). After a reasonable period of time for the evaluation questionnaires to return, there would be a community party and press conference to acknowledge the help of all of the participants and promote the use of the photonovel. At the party, the

participants would all receive copies of the photonovel and copies would also be given to other people who attended. After the party an additional 400 copies would be mailed out to people in the community, and TINC and N-ACT would also get copies to use as they pleased. The mailing list included the membership lists of TINC and N-ACT and was supplemented by a random sample of the neighborhood from the Troy City Directory.

The Company that printed the photonovel used the front cover design to produce 200 posters which he gave to the project free. Some were used to advertise the community party and the rest were kept to be used later for advertising community projects. TINC and N-ACT sent out letters to people in the community urging them to come to the party, and members of the local government and press were invited. Several local organizations also put notices in their newsletters. The party was not a major success. Only about fifty people showed up. There were two newspaper articles with photographs and two television news spots about the photonovel that came out of this publicity campaign, and several local government officials came to the party.

At the party there was some discussion of the trash problem between city and county officials and members of the community. There was also some discussion about having the client participants produce a similar material on lead poisoning with the County Health Department, but there were not enough people or energy at the party to get that project started.

The lack of support for the party was attributed (by the community people) to two causes. One was that the day of the party was

the first Saturday with good weather that year, and community people did not want to waste the morning inside. The other reason was that the time lag from the last community activity on the project was too long, and people were no longer excited about the photonovel. The practitioners felt that the two community organizations had not done as much advertising and promotion for the party as they might have, but this too may be due to the loss of interest after the long time lag.

The first two hundred photonovels were mailed by the State Health Department as part of the evaluation. The second four hundred were mailed by N-ACT. There was some misunderstanding and confusion about this second mailing, but they were finally mailed out six weeks after the party. The State Health Department retained several hundred copies for use later in the schools and to give to interested outside organizations as an example of community produced media.

Since only two people from the client community were involved in the decision making, determining a measure for the utilization stage is a little difficult. At that time they were the only people showing interest in the project, and they were representing community organizations. The two clients did agree to the practitioner's desire for an evaluation, but the community party was an idea of the two clients. Since the clients did participate in the decisions that affected the distribution and use of the photonovel, the decision making measure is high. The clients, though, had lost interest and their cooperation in this stage of the project could not be rated as high. A medium rating is more accurate. The client organizations have mentioned ways in

which they plan to use the photonovel (the director of TINC is particularly interested in using it in the local schools), and if the clients begin to use the material in their own ways, then a high rating might later be applied. For this project a medium rating is reasonable.

Evaluation

The evaluation instrument was designed by one of the media facilitators (with help from the director of the research laboratory and others) to use as part of his dissertation, but the evaluation was also needed for the final report on the project to the funding agency. These two purposes were seeking the same information, and, therefore, there was no conflict. The clients were not consulted on the development of the instrument, but it was explained to the directors of TINC and N-ACT. One director was against evaluation in general, but the other saw evaluation as a necessary evil.

There were three groups in the sample. One group received the questionnaire and the photonovel. Another group received the questionnaire and a copy of Rudy Rat which is a comic book style material produced non-participatively by the County for use in Troy. The third group received only a questionnaire. Samples of the three questionnaires are in Appendix I, and the results are analyzed in the section of this chapter titled "Effect on the Product." Each group was 200 people (600 total) from which the evaluation hoped to receive 68 responses (204 total). Once the questionnaires had been returned, all of the people who received the Rudy Rat or control questionnaire (400 total) were sent a copy of the photonovel.

As mentioned earlier, the sample population was made up of the membership lists of N-ACT and TINC (about half of the total) and a random sample from the Troy City Directory. People who had been direct participants were deleted from this list. The use of the TINC and N-ACT lists was meant to sample the two organizations' members. These are the people who have shown some interest in community action, and these were the people who would be most likely to help in a community cleanup. The random sample was added to produce a large enough population and to add some diversity to the sample. Since all the groups came from the same sample population, the bias of the TINC and N-ACT lists are equal for all the groups.

The client decision making and cooperation are both low in the evaluation stage. The evaluation was, for the most part, designed and administered by the practitioners. The clients from the two community organizations, though, were consulted, and the two organizations helped with address lists. There was, therefore, some decision making and cooperation by the clients, but this was not really significant.

This project, then, does not follow the matrix set out in Chapter II for a collaborative project. In the Chapter II matrix in the evaluation stage the clients should have at least a medium rating for both decision making and cooperation. If the reader looks at the other four matrices, though, he or she will see that this project is much closer to the Collaborative type than any of the other types. The matrices in Chapter II are an indication of what the usual project looks like, and these small differences in one or two stages of a project are not important for the classification of project type.

Benefits and Resources

There are three sources of information about the benefits and resources of the Troy project:

1. The results of the evaluation questionnaire,
2. Interviews with clients, media facilitators and content specialists, and
3. The author's personal experience with the project.

The results of the questionnaire will be analyzed in the first section of the chapter, "Benefits to the Final Product." The interviews and personal experience will be analyzed in the sections, "Benefits from the Process" and "Resources." A list of the people interviewed is in Appendix II.

Benefits to the final product. The general evaluation methodology was described in the Evaluation section of this chapter. In this section the results of the evaluation will be described and analyzed. Appendix I is a reproduction of the three questionnaires. A reproduction of a memo from Mr. Therriault of the Department of Health, State of New York containing the results of the questionnaires is in Appendix III. The evaluation had questions that looked at nine different aspects of the effects of the process and the evaluation itself. Those sections are:

1. Demography--If the respondents had seen the material previously and the age and sex of the respondent.
2. Attitudes towards the product--If the respondents believed the information in the material and how they felt about the material.

3. Cultural reference--If the respondents felt the product related to their life experiences.
4. Internality--If the respondents felt the locus of control over health matters was close or far away from themselves.
5. Attitude toward community--If the respondents felt that trash and rats were a community problem and needed a community solution.
6. Attitude toward the individual--If the respondents felt that trash and rats were an individual problem and should be solved by individuals.
7. Attitude toward the County Health Department--If the respondents felt positive or negative about the County Health Department.
8. Willingness--If the respondents were willing to work in a neighborhood cleanup.
9. Learning--If the respondents learned the material that was presented.

Not all of these sections gave results that were significantly different for the three groups, but the results of those that did are presented here.

The total number of respondents were 69 for the control group (questionnaire only), 35 for the Rudy Rat (the non-participatory material), and 42 for the photonovel group. This was not a very good response for 600 questionnaires, and there was a significant difference in the sex distribution between the photonovel respondents (26% male) and the other two groups (control 46% male and Rudy Rat 51% male).

There was an indication that the photonovel respondents had a more positive response to the final product. When asked if they would like to read other books like it dealing with other health problems, 79% of the photonovel respondents said yes, but only 54% of the Rudy Rat respondents agreed. This shows some proof of the assumption that the use of client participation adds to the attractiveness of an NFE media.

There was one interesting finding on the question about attitude toward the product. Ninety-one percent of the Rudy Rat group felt that the information in the booklet was correct while only 64% of the photonovel group felt that the information was correct. This may be explained by the controversial nature of the photonovel. It should be noted as an aside that the Rudy Rat booklet states that rats originally came from China, but there is no proof at all that this is true.

In the cultural reference section 60% of the photonovel group agreed that the situation and events in the booklet were similar to ones in their own life, while only 26% of the Rudy Rat respondents agreed to that statement. This indicates that the participation of the clients did have an impact on this element of the design. In fact, 90% of the photonovel respondents stated that they recognized people and places in the booklet.

In the section on attitudes towards community and towards the individual, only the questions towards the individual had significant differences. The Rudy Rat group and control group appear to have a more individualistic outlook. The photonovel is not proved by these

statistics to have produced a community spirit, but these figures do seem to point to a lessening of the feeling that only the individual can solve this problem.

None of the other questions showed a significant difference except for one of the internality questions. These questions, though, are particularly susceptible to the sex differentiation, and, therefore, an analysis of these results is not included.

The results of the evaluation, then, were not as conclusive as might be hoped, but the assumptions about attractiveness and cultural relevance were supported. The effect of the participatory process on the attitude toward community action was not as strongly indicated, but there was some evidence to point in that direction.

The results of this evaluation are not conclusive but do offer some indications. The two materials that were tested, the photonovel and Rudy Rat, differed in many ways in addition to the use of client participation. A participatory process, though, would usually produce a different type of media than a non-participative process. The data from the other sources (interviews and personal experience), though less objective, are more insightful, and the process of participation may be more important than the effects that process has on a final product.

Benefits from the process. Of the three content specialists who worked on the project, one has since left the Health Department, one has moved up to a higher position with the Health Department, but the director of the rodent research laboratory is still in his position.

The woman who has moved up in the Department stated that during the year when she worked on the project, the few days she spent working on the photonovel were the only days she came into direct contact with the clients of the Health Department in an official capacity. The same is true for the director of the rodent research laboratory.

Both of these people have influence on the policies and programs of the Health Department, and without the photonovel project they would have had no personal knowledge, that year, of the clients of those programs. Both people said that the project reinforced their belief in the value of involving people in a process that has some effect on the lives of these people. The director of the rodent research laboratory said that he is now adding greater emphasis to community education in the recommendations he makes (he consults on national and international projects as well as New York State programs). Before the photonovel project he had little direct experience with community involvement and education, and this project has given him a positive attitude toward both education and citizen involvement for limiting rodent infestations.

The director of the rodent laboratory has maintained his links to the community through some of the people who participated in the project. He has been to several parties in the neighborhood, and he keeps in contact with the directors of the two community organizations, especially TINC. His understanding of this one community helps give him a better understanding of other similar communities where there are rodent problems. When he consults on other projects or sits in on policy making committees, he brings this knowledge and empathy with

him to these tasks. This is a difficult benefit to measure because it exists in the attitude of the content specialist, but the director of the laboratory sees this change in his behavior and attributes it to the photonovel project.

There is, now, a new relationship between the community and the State Health Department. The Health Department now has one employee, at least, that is known by some of the clients in this community. The client participants in the project have a very good feeling toward the rodent lab director, and some of the participants are leaders in their community. The Health Department may not utilize this resource, but the resource was developed as part of the project.

The clients who were involved in the design of or who were actors in the photonovel are showing the materials around to their friends. When friends or neighbors see the photonovel, they quite often ask the participants what this is all about. No measure of this effect was attempted, but all of the client participants who were asked their opinion of the photonovel liked it and were proud of it. During the process of making the photonovel, the client participants in the design stage were exposed to some health department people, and these clients learned some health information in the process. Whether this knowledge was spread around in the community is unknown, but the participants who acted in the photonovel were recognized by their neighbors. There was a strong base on which to build a horizontal communications process in the community, and this process could have been used in other community efforts if the project had had the resources, time and direction needed to use it.

The community organizations that were involved are also showing signs of promoting the use of the material. TINC has expressed interest in using the photonovel in the schools and in integrating its use into a neighborhood cleanup campaign. These projects may never become a reality, but the interest has been expressed. If the health department was able to continue some involvement in the project, this interest could be developed into further projects. The interest among some of the clients exists, but there is no motive force to put that interest into action.

The client participants now feel, they state, that they could produce their own photonovel. There are amateur photographers who could take the pictures, the client participants in the original project feel confident that they could design and produce the material, and the layout could be done by the printer or someone in the community. All of these skills probably existed in the community before, but no one knew it. Now there are people in the community who do feel that they can produce their own product, and some of the people are leaders in the community and in community organizations. Government agencies can now tap this resource through the community organizations. Even if this resource is not tapped, the project proved that it can be easily developed. This is a resource that did not exist in the community or the government agency before the project.

Resources

All the participants interviewed mentioned the length of time of the project as its major fault. Eighteen months from the beginning

of the project to the distribution of the final product was too long, and the long gaps between periods of client involvement disrupted community interest in the project. The consensus among the participants is that if the project could have been completed in two or three months, a higher level of community interest and involvement could have been maintained.

Another criticism by participants was that the photonovel was not linked to any specific community action. The content specialists, media facilitators, and client participants, though, had considered this link during the project. The difficulty in linking the project to community action was caused, in the opinion of the participants, by the slow pace of the project. There was interest in a community cleanup campaign generated during the design stage, but then there was a long delay before the production stage. During the production stage there was a community cleanup organized, and the project could have built on that interest. The final product, though, was not released for another year. By that time the community interest had again waned. If these three stages had all occurred within a shorter period of time, the interest developed during one stage could be built upon in the next.

There was, in the production stage, some community action--the cleanup for the photography session. This was possible because the project had linked itself with local neighborhood organizations. TINC and N-ACT were able to organize the cleanup, and this would probably have been impossible without their help. There have been no cleanups in the neighborhood except those organized by these two groups, and it

is doubtful if the practitioners and a few clients could have organized one.

These organizations were helpful in other ways, too. TINC provided the meeting space for the design phase. One of the N-ACT employees helped in arranging the design and production meetings by phoning all of the participants in the meetings and arranging for people to come to the photography sessions. During the long gaps in community involvement, TINC and N-ACT officials were always cooperative in helping to recruit participants. The participants from the earlier parts of the project could be contacted because they were affiliated with one of these groups. If new participants were needed, these organizations could call on their members. Both the content specialists and the media facilitators stated that the cooperation of TINC and N-ACT saved a lot of time and trouble for the project and contributed significantly to the project success.

Working with these organizations was not problem free. There are internal political and personal problems within any organization, and the project had some minor difficulties from this. The leadership of these organizations had many other projects and issues with which they were concerned, and the photonovel project was not always on the top of their list. Even with these problems the use of local organizations as a resource in this project appears to have been very important.

The participation of the Directors of TINC and N-ACT facilitated the transfer of power from the practitioners to the clients. The directors were leaders in the community and were used to a leader-

ship role. During the design and production activities, these directors and their co-workers were sharing the leadership with the practitioners. Problems of cultural insensitivity were avoided by using this existing community authority system rather than imposing an outside system of management.

The target population was economically homogeneous, but there was a black/white division. This racial division might have been a problem, but the client participants were willing and able to confront that issue. They felt, in fact, that it was important to discuss the racial division because this division was a contributing factor to the lack of community action. This racial difference within a population whose lives were basically similar may have been a resource for the project. The racial difference gave the final product a theme that was of interest to the whole community. Had the differences between the two groups been much greater, this may have produced a problem, but these two groups do not appear to have widely different life styles.

The final product, it should be mentioned, is a story about two men. Women are secondary to the central action, though there are women portrayed in the meetings and cleanup activities in the photo-novel. The design sessions were dominated by men from the client community, and a separate project for women might be necessary. A strong woman leader from the community might have been another way to overcome this problem.

The content specialists and the media facilitators were all committed to client participation in the project, and the facilitator

had worked with client production of materials before this project. This was noted by both the specialists and the facilitators as a significant resource to the project. The experts did not have to be convinced of the value of client input, and the client participants stated that this attitude was clear and gave the practitioner group and the project a very good image in the community.

The specialists mentioned that the processing sessions that used the questions about feeling uncomfortable were very good training for them. No prior training of the specialists was attempted, but these processing sessions helped the specialists become aware of and modify their own behavior. The specialists and facilitators are ambivalent about including the clients in these sessions. These sessions were helpful to the practitioners to look at their own behavior towards and with the clients, and they may have been inhibited if the clients were present. The processing sessions, though, were viewed by the specialists as a very good communications mechanism. The specialists always knew what the facilitators were thinking and feeling, and the specialists stated that these sessions gave them a clearer understanding of the project. Some similar activity could have been added to the practitioner-client meetings, and the end of the day sessions could have been maintained for the training of the specialists.

The project had no trouble and a good deal of support from the bureaucracy. The director of the laboratory was the only participant who maintained responsibility within the bureaucracy for the project. He managed to provide the project with a free hand. This was due in part to his superior in the Health Department who also supported the

project and in part to the emphasis on client participation that was currently in vogue. The facilitators, clients and specialists were free to work on the project without considering the needs and priorities of the Health Department, and this was due, to a large part, to the responsibility taken by the Rodent Laboratory Director.

C H A P T E R V

OTHER PROJECTS

This chapter will present several short case studies that will accomplish these two goals:

1. Provide further insights into the issues raised in Chapters II, III and IV, and
2. Provide practitioners with ideas on how client participation can develop in situations and forms of media that are different from the Troy project.

To accomplish these two goals, each case study will first be described, and then specific aspects of the project that relate to the earlier discussion will be considered.

These case studies will not follow the format of Chapter IV. There is not enough information available on most of these projects to present the detail of the Troy case study, and much of the available information would be redundant. The written material on these projects, though, usually sheds light on some of the issues presented in Chapters II, III and IV, and this information will be presented. These case studies will concentrate, therefore, on the issues that seem to present the most useful information on the nature of participation in media production. These case studies will act as a third source of information that will help to illustrate different parts of the participatory process, but the greatest value of these descriptions may

be the ideas that they provide for field practitioners interested in trying participatory media production.

There is very little written information on most participatory media development projects, and most of the participants were unavailable for interview. The projects with the most written information and the projects where interviews with participants was possible will be presented first. In the last case studies only short project reports and descriptions are available. Even with these limitations, this information source will be useful to a clearer understanding of participation and media development. A list of the informants for these projects appears in Appendix II.

Los Hermanos⁵⁴

The first case study involves the production of a series of photonovels by the New England Farm Workers' Council of Western Massachusetts. The Council is funded by the Federal government to provide educational programs for adult farm workers in western Massachusetts. Most of their clients have recently moved to New England from Puerto Rico, and their native language is Spanish. The photonovels were produced for use as reading material for the Council's English language classes.

The Council has, as one of its many activities, been running a program of adult education that has an English as a second language segment. The Council was unable to locate, from commercial sources, simple, adult reading material that was interesting to their clients. Since photonovels are a popular form of literature in Puerto Rico, the

Council decided to try producing some photonovels as simple reading material. They produced three in a series: Los Hermanos: The Streets of Gold, Los Hermanos: The Man Who Suffered a Lot, and Los Hermanos: La Trabajadora. There was no specific knowledge or attitudinal goal in these materials. The goal was to produce a literature with which the clients could practice their new reading skills.

The content specialists, in this case, were the teachers who worked for the Council, and the clients were the students in the Council's English classes. The media facilitators were the same two University of Massachusetts consultants who worked on the Troy project. This project was their first attempt at client participation in materials development.

In the production of the first photonovel (Los Hermanos: The Streets of Gold), the clients were consulted in the design stage to collect stories that might be used in the final product. These stories were then put into a draft design by the consultants and the teachers. The students were used as actors in the production stage, but the photography, writing of the dialogue and production of the final layout for the printers was done by the consultants and the teachers. For the second photonovel (Los Hermanos: The Man Who Suffered a Lot), the students, with minimal help from one of the teachers, designed the draft of the story, and this draft was put into a final design by the consultants. The production of the photonovel was a cooperative effort with the students doing some of the photography and layout. The third photonovel (Los Hermanos: La Trabajadora) was planned to be a completely student produced material with the consul-

tants and teachers acting only as technicians. Though the students were much more involved at every stage, the final layout was put together by the consultants.

The initiation of the project all took place in meetings between the experts and the producers. The design stage was structured like the Troy project. The participants sat around a table and worked as a group with stick figures. In the first photonovel the clients were excluded, but in the last photonovel the process was directed by the clients. In the production of the first photonovel the clients were only actors, but in the second and third photonovels they directed the process and even participated in the technological aspects of the production. In the Los Hermanos project, the utilization was not structured, and there was no evaluation of the product.

The production of the first photonovel was a directed type of project. The clients were allowed to participate, but that participation was controlled by the practitioners. The production of the second and third photonovels was a collaborative type project. The project began with the practitioners in control of every stage of the project. The clients, after the first product, began to take over more and more of the design and production of the photonovels, and the practitioners became technicians and resources. The project ended before the students could be trained in all of the aspects of production, but eventually the project could have become a responsive type with the clients in control of every stage.

The problem that the Council was trying to solve was a lack of interest on the part of their students about the reading material

that was available for adults. This material was either too difficult for a person newly literate in English or simple but childish. The few materials that were both simple and adult were set in a culture and involved experiences that usually were alien to the students.

The assumption in this case study is that the learners (whether they produced the product or are only culturally similar to those who did) will read these photonovels because they are enjoyable and interesting, and the interest and enjoyment are a result of the participation. In the process the learner will also be practicing his or her reading skills. If this assumption is correct then this method of media production for new readers is more practical than having materials produced by people outside of the cultural context of the learner. That is, the use of this material is not dependent on a strong and consistent desire to learn to read but on the entertainment and interest value of the material itself, and that interest and entertainment value is produced by the client participant.

Some of the staff of the Council felt that Los Hermanos was of poor technical quality, portrayed unrealistic events and was "trashy." All of these complaints, from their cultural background, may be true, but that does not make them true in the culture of the clients. Even if they are true in both cultures, these issues may not be important. Technical quality, realism or high minded themes were not the goal. The goal was to have people read the material. The consultants acted as a defense against this attack and did not allow it to affect the project.

Producing the first Los Hermanos was training for producing

the second, and producing the second was training for the third. The clients, content specialists and media facilitator were all learning how to work together to produce this media, and this training helped to produce the collaborative nature of the production of the second and third photonovels. The training of the two facilitators allowed them to begin the Troy project at a much higher level of client participation than existed in the first Los Hermanos. The facilitators were always committed to client participation, but this commitment coupled with experience allowed them to develop a much higher level of participation.

Mensaje Campesino⁵⁵

Mensaje Campesino ("Peasants' Message") is a half hour program broadcast weekly on Radio Mensaje in Tabacundo, Ecuador. The program was begun in 1971 with help from the staff of the Center for International Education's Ecuador Project. Radio Mensaje was operating a radio school that used voluntary auxiliaries (auxiliares in Spanish) as teachers to supplement the broadcast lessons. The auxiliaries were trained in the use of a simple cassette recorder by the Ecuador Project staff, and the radio station then asked the auxiliaries to record their students for presentation on the radio. The cassettes were played without editing on the Mensaje Campesino program.

The radio school consists of three nine month cycles. If a student completes all three cycles successfull she or he is awarded a primary school equivalency certificate. The auxiliaries come from the community where they teach and are not certified teachers. They

are also not paid. The students are mostly rural poor people engaged in agriculture and part time labor.

The project began when the Ecuador Project staff approached the director of the radio school, Padre Isaias Barriga, with the idea of using the tape recorders. A decision was made in the initiation stage to allow the auxiliaries complete freedom in the use of the tape recorders.

The training of the auxiliaries was minimal. The auxiliaries learned how to operate the machine very quickly, and they then practiced using it with each other. After they had mastered the machines, the auxiliaries brainstormed ideas on how to use the recorders to produce programs. The whole training session took only four hours.

The auxiliaries designed and produced taped programs with their students and other people in the community. These tapes were then sent to Padre Barriga who would play them on the air. One example of a program is:

The community of Ucshaloma, high on the mountain behind the town of Tabacundo, recorded a meeting in which they decided to get together the following Saturday for a "minga," or community work project. They were in the process of upgrading their living conditions, having formed a co-op and by means of a group effort, building a new house for each of the members. Having recorded this meeting, they followed through and recorded the sounds of work when the minga took place. One heard hammers behind the voices of the workers as they discussed their progress and needs.⁵⁶

In another program an engineer from the Hydraulic Resources Ministry was interviewed. The engineer answered the students' and auxiliaries' questions about the possibilities and difficulties of obtaining running water. One auxiliary interviewed the President of the

new National Indigenous Movement. Many of the program's listeners were indigenous Quechuwa speaking Indians, and they were interested in the movement's aims and activities. Songs in Quechuwa were also popular. On one program new readers practiced reading out loud, and this allowed new readers a chance to hear that other students were having the same difficulties that they were.

The Ecuador Project staff evaluated the Mensaje Campesino project with a questionnaire that was administered to students of the radio school before the program began and one year later. The same questionnaire had been administered to students of the school one year before the program began, and this measure of three different groups of students provided the data for the evaluation. The questions evaluated three objectives of the program:

1. An increase in self-esteem and feelings of efficacy,
2. An increase in community development related knowledge, and
3. An improvement in literacy and numeracy skills.

For the first objective the report of the evaluation states:

The questionnaire produced no discernible trend in this area, although some specific changes merit comment. In 1972, 5% thought people's own efforts were most important for a community to progress, while 80% selected "the help of God." In 1973, 17% selected the former, 50% the latter.

Question #22 asked the participants, "Which man would you prefer to work for: one who says, 'Let's try something new to produce more,' or one who says, 'Our product is all right now, if we try something new we might lose.'" Fifty-six percent chose the former in 1972 while 44 percent chose the latter. In 1973, 84% chose the risk-taker while 16% preferred the conservative.⁵⁷

In relation to self esteem, the report discusses two effects observed by Padre Barriga:

The "power of the word," a campesino's voice expressing his thoughts has much more impact than a letter read in a cultured announcer's tones. "Even if the announcer attempts to read with a campesino accent," says Padre Barriga, "it only sounds as if he's trying to make a joke out of it."

Direct expression gives voice to something he calls "the mystique of the campo." Although difficult to pin down, it connotes active interest in country life, with goals and satisfactions different from those of the city.⁵⁸

The evaluation of students' community development knowledge showed an increase in correct responses of 50%. Examples of the questions and results are:

In 1972, 72% thought erosion was a "good thing," while 26% indicated that it was a "bad thing." In 1973, 43% said erosion was a "good thing" while 58% labeled it a "bad thing." More people knew that planting trees would decrease erosion in 1973 (31%) than in 1972 (4%).

In 1972, 77% thought polluted water could give typhoid, dysentery or worms. In 1973, 88% responded correctly to the question.⁵⁹

Students in the first nine month cycle showed some improvement in literacy and numeracy skills as measured by the questionnaire. Students in the third nine month cycle showed no real improvement, but this may be caused by a ceiling effect. That is, the questions were not difficult enough to measure improvement at the advanced level. The second nine month cycle secured much higher scores in 1973 than in 1972 or 1971. Out of 65 questions 45% of the students in 1973 correctly answered 55 or more questions. Only 10% of the 1972 students and only 21% of the 1971 students scored 55 or above. Eighty-six percent of the 1973 students scored 32 or more correct answers. Only 75% of the 1972 and 73% of the 1971 students scored more than 32 correct.⁶⁰

The Mensaje Campesino project was initiated by the practitioners, the Ecuador Project staff and the Radio Mensaje Director.

The Ecuador Project staff evaluated the project using the clients only as a sampling population. The design, production and utilization, though, were completely controlled by the clients. This project is a good example of a collaborative type. Now the evaluation and initiation stages are complete, but the design, production and utilization of the media continues. The project has become a responsive type. The radio station is providing the technical backup for the programs that are made by the people in the villages.

Moalboal Times⁶¹

In the town of Moalboal (population: 18,000) in the Philippines, members of the community produce a daily blackboard newspaper, the Moalboal Times. There is one large blackboard (10 feet high and 32 feet long) in the central market. There are also 12 smaller boards (three feet high and three feet long) at major intersections in the town center and 12 small boards in the outlying barrios of the town. Some of the barrios are 18 kilometers from the town center.

The Moalboal Times is a cooperative effort of many different groups in the town. There are sixty puroks (neighborhood organizations) that each report their local news to the paper. The puroks have members who represent adults, youth and school children, and each purok functions on an informal basis. Local merchants in the town center also contribute news, and some news is taken from the national newspapers.

There is a five man editorial board which includes the government adult and community education officer, the local priest, a police-

man, a lawyer and a local merchant. This editorial board decides on which articles will be put on to the boards, but local stories can be substituted on the smaller boards by neighborhood residents. The news is copied on to the 25 boards by school children. The boards are widely read, and all school children are required to copy the stories into their exercise books and to read from the exercise books to their families after school.

Usually there are at least five stories every day. One local, one regional, and one international story make up the hard news. There are also two or three feature articles each day written by school children, the priest or someone else in the town. These features may be man-in-the-street interviews, editorials or educational articles. The features usually have a social or community purpose.

All of the staff who produce the Times are unpaid. The people of the community pay for the building and maintenance of the blackboards with donations, and the schools provide any paper that is needed. Jack Glattbach who observed the Moalboal Times in the Philippines writes:

Political problems are avoided mainly by giving everybody access to the board. News from the mayor--the local representative of national government--gets its fair share of space, as does the news of all groups. Nobody is able to say the paper doesn't reflect his or her position. Access to the Times boards is based on nothing more than residence and willingness to get involved, a big plus in winning acceptance throughout the community. Over time, a sense of pride in the boards has developed: every one we saw was in good repair and clearly visible--something quite rare for the visual word in the Philippine landscape, which is often typified by semi-obliterated and rusting commercial signs.⁶²

Francesco Silva, the local priest, conceived and initiated the blackboard project, and he is still a member of the five man editorial board. The editorial board is made up of people from the educational economic elite of the town, but all citizens have a chance to participate. Like Mensaje Campesino, the Moalboal Times has become a responsive type. The outside news and educational sources are providing some of the material for the Times, but the Times is owned and operated by the members of the community who care to become involved. Except for the government adult and community education officer, all of the members of the board are from the community, and each group in the town has control over some of the smaller boards.

The Skyriver Project⁶³

The Skyriver Project took place in Alaska from 1970 to 1972 and was sponsored by the United States Office of Economic Opportunity. The project used both ½ inch video tape equipment and 16 mm film. The practitioners provided access to these two media to Eskimo village people in the lower Yukon River area of Alaska.

Tim Kennedy was working with fishermen in the village of Emmonak helping them begin a fishing cooperative. In the process of discussion of this project, many different issues and problems were raised by the villagers, and the village people wanted to try to do something to solve these problems. Kennedy had met some of the people who worked on the Fogo Project (discussed in the next section) that used film and video tape for community organizing. So he decided to try the same process and received funding from the Office of

Economic Opportunity.

The project began with the taping and playback with video of conversations, and these conversations then became community meetings. After a year of this taping and viewing, the village decided to make a film and choose one of their members to act as the organizer.

The village decided to make a film of a series of interviews with the organizer as the interviewer. Each interviewee was allowed to describe a village problem and offer a solution. The interviewee would provide a rough sketch of what he wanted to say, and the interviewer made sure that the questions helped make that statement. The interviewee decided on the setting and the language of the interview. After the film was processed, the interviewee was the first person to view the film, and he viewed it in private. The interviewee could destroy all or any part of the film before anyone else saw it, or she or he could add a statement.

Once the interviewee is satisfied with the film and feels that it presents the problem and solution that he or she intended, that person signs a formal release, and the film is viewed by other members of the community. The community discusses the film and then comes to a consensus. If they feel the problem and solution are correctly presented, then the film is allowed to be shown to outsiders. If the community does not agree, then the film is destroyed. The community could also add to or alter the film.

In one case the film concerned the need for a local high school in the village. After the film was made it was shown to Education Department officials and other government officials, and the reaction of

these people was video taped and shown to the clients. The government policy at the time was to bring the village children into boarding schools in the city, but the film helped change the opinion of the government officials and finally the policy of the government. The village now has a high school.

As the project continued and made more tapes and films, native artists were trained to take over the process, and Kennedy and his technical staff eventually were phased out. There was no evaluation of the project.

The clients in this project were the villagers of Emmonak. Tim Kennedy and his crew were the media facilitators and Kennedy appears to have been the content specialist, too. Who initiated the project is unclear. Kennedy began the process, but the decision to make the film was that of the villagers. The clients also designed the film and had total control of the final product. The clients also managed the utilization. This project is a responsive type and a very good example of that type.

Kennedy mentions the film-maker as a possible problem. The first film-maker on the project was too concerned with the quality of the final product, and this film-maker could not give up control of the editing process.⁶⁴ He also mentions time as a major resource. He states that the clients needed one year of making and viewing the video tapes before they were ready to make a film. During that year he had to turn back 2/3 of his grant because he was not ready to use it.⁶⁵ Both of these statements reflect on the assumptions in Chapters II and III.

Kennedy also states that the clients, after seeing the reaction of government officials to the film, felt a new sense of worth about their own opinions. Clients who in these meetings were usually passive and meek were eager to talk and state their opinions.⁶⁶ This statement, too, reflects on the assumptions of the earlier discussion.

Additional Projects

Four additional projects will now be discussed briefly. There are other projects that could be included, but not enough information is available on them at this time. These four projects will be described to supply project ideas to field practitioners, and no detailed analysis will be attempted.

The first project⁶⁷ took place on the Fogo islands off the coast of Newfoundland in Canada. This project was a precursor of the Skyriver Project, and involved the use of 16 mm film. The people of Fogo were the clients. Fred Earle, a community development worker, was the content specialist, and Colin Low and his film crew were the media facilitators. The project began as an idea of the practitioners, but as in the Skyriver Project, the clients had control over the scenario, editing and final product. This project qualifies as a responsive type.

The island communities had a high rate of unemployment and a low level of community spirit. The film that resulted was a view of many different aspects of the lives of the Fogo Islanders. These included segments about building a boat, a fishermen's meeting, songs by one of the local residents and the life of the children of the

islands. After the showing of the films to the people of Fogo, formal and informal discussions led to a growing feeling of community.

One thing we cannot say is: the films did it. Some inspired leadership and hard work on the part of many islanders are factors that still stand out. Certainly film does not loom large in the people's memories as they look back proudly over the accomplishments. I think we can say that film broke through the bad habits of non-communication and misunderstanding and liberated the people from apathy. With the fresh film view of themselves, they evaluated their own capacities and energies and put them to work.⁶⁸

This is further evidence of the assumption that participation can help to build a sense of community pride, power and progress.

Another project took place in Peru as part of the ALFIN (Alfabetizacion Integral) literacy program. The clients were the women in a mother's club in Santa Ana, a squatters' settlement outside Lima. The content specialist was Pablo, an ALFIN teacher, and the media facilitators were Debrah Barndt and the communications workshop of a local university.⁶⁹

Pablo and Debrah organized a series of socio-dramas with a mother's club. The women of the club looked at and discussed a series of Debrah's photos of different types of relationships in which the women might be involved. From this discussion a list of relationships was made, and the women acted out a different relationship each week. The relationships included husband and wife, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, mother and daughter, household domestic and employer, seller and buyer in the market, bus driver and passenger and priest and confessor.

The socio-dramas were filmed with Super 8 mm synch-sound film. When the film was processed (after about two months), the films were shown on an outside wall in the community to about 100 people. Dis-

cussions about these problems continued for days after the showing. (Both the dramas and the film can be considered media.)

Not enough information was available to the author to complete an analysis of this project, but the project is interesting enough to warrant inclusion. One result of the project, that was mentioned by a client participant, was an increased feeling of confidence to participate in community meetings. This is similar to the statements made about the Skyriver Project.

In 1977 the Centre for Development of Instructional Technology (CENDIT) in New Delhi, India implemented a participatory radio project in Sultanpur in Utter Pradesh.⁷⁰ The program was called Hum Aur Hamara Gaun (Us and Our Village), and there were three different programs broadcast one week apart. There were going to be six programs, but government policy decisions ended the project early.

The project allowed village people to decide on the content and the presentation. The CENDIT team acted only as technicians. The programs were open broadcast and the CENDIT team evaluated the results with an open question: How do you feel about the program?

The programs contained women speaking of the burden of their work, a young man discussing the value of education, local songs, interviews with local craftsmen, women expressing their attitudes towards equality with men and men discussing the role of women. The result of these programs was informal village discussions of the problems and issues that were presented. The program that focused on women produced the greatest reaction, with women discussing openly their desire for increased freedom. Some of the men expressed surprise at

these attitudes and stated that before the program they were unaware of their wife's feelings.

These programs were very popular and the popularity was attributed, by the CENDIT team, to the cultural context and language of the program. The CENDIT team also found that the material was clearly understood by most listeners and attributed this, too, to the local participation. The project appears to be a collaborative type, but not enough documentation was available for a complete analysis.

The last case study involves murals painted on the outside and inside walls of stores, banks, homes, apartments and public buildings in East Los Angeles, California.⁷¹ There is very little written information available on these murals, but the project appears to be a responsive type. Even though an analysis of this project is impossible in this study, the project will be presented because of the unique media of the wall murals.

The murals began appearing in the 1960s produced by local artists, usually Americans of Mexican heritage. Foremost among these artists appears to be Joe Gonzales and his brother Johnny. In 1969, they formed the Goez Gallery and began producing the murals and other works of art as a commercial enterprise, but from its inception the Gallery has been a community workshop for local artists (320 at this time). In 1974, the Department of Recreation and Parks of the City of Los Angeles began the Citywide Mural Project that sponsored 65 different murals across the city.

Some of the murals are geometric designs; some present scenes of everyday life and some are abstract works of art, but some of the

murals have a message. One at the Doctor's Hospital portrays a Chicano youth reaching for the knowledge that will help him get out of the ghetto, but there is a snake that represents his surroundings that are trying to pull him back. Another mural on the wall of the First Street Store depicts the history of the Mexican people.

This project appears to have begun organically, and then a private enterprise, formed by members of the community, and later the city government came in to help support the activity. Many different private businesses and individuals also contributed by funding the murals. The communications that these murals make is very public and very powerful. The effect of the murals has not been measured, but local residents who were involved in these activities state that they have given members of the community a sense of pride about their neighborhood.

The three sources of information are now complete: the literature was analyzed in Chapters II and III; the Troy case study was presented in Chapter IV, and these shorter case studies have now been described. The last chapter will attempt to draw some conclusions that may be helpful to planners and evaluators of participatory media projects, present some suggestions to field workers who wish to implement a participatory media project and point toward further research that might help to develop this concept.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

A good deal of information has been presented here. All of this information has some usefulness, but a summary of the most important parts will give a clearer picture to planners, evaluators, practitioners and researchers. This summary will present what the author feels, from his personal experience, are the crucial factors that should be considered. This view is opinion, but it is enlightened opinion. This opinion will be useful to readers as they begin to use the information presented in this study by directing their attention to what appears to be the most crucial factors. There will be separate presentations for planners and evaluators, practitioners and researchers.

Planning and Evaluation

The matrix and the five types of projects have not been used as a planning mechanism, and the use of both in evaluation has been limited to this study. From the author's experience, though, some tentative conclusions can be drawn. Even though these conclusions come, in part, from experience that is not analyzed in this study, they will be included since they may help planners and evaluators to avoid mistakes as they experiment with the matrix and the five types.

The matrix will probably be somewhat different for each activ-

ity (e.g., training, health promotion, etc.) and for the goal that the project is trying to achieve (e.g., information transfer, skill transfer, motivation, etc.). The people involved in a project should be able to rearrange the matrix based on their own experience. The major difficulty with the matrix is the problem of determining the quality of a decision or activity. If the matrix is being used by practitioners and clients who are committed to increasing client participation, that commitment should allow them to be honest about the importance of different decisions and activities. When the matrix is used as an outside evaluation mechanism or as a planning tool to increase participation where commitment is weak, some research will have to be done to provide an objective viewpoint. The matrix is only an example that should be altered to fit specific situations.

Client participation can be viewed as having two aspects. The first is the clients' perception that they are participating and that the participation is meaningful. The second aspect is the importance, viewed objectively, of that participation upon the form and content of the project (or in this case, media product). Clients could perceive their participation as meaningful when, in fact, their impact on the project has not been significant, and the opposite could also be true. The clients could perceive their participation as minimal when in fact its impact has been significant.

Planners and evaluators must be clear which aspect is important or if both aspects are important to their project. The criteria for measuring (or the activities planned to insure) a level of decision making and cooperation at each stage might be different for these

two aspects. Particularly difficult is the case where both aspects are viewed as important. No solution to this problem is offered here, but the evaluator and planner should be aware of this situation.

For these two factors objective measures of participation (whether summative or formative) should be kept simple. The matrix is most useful when the key criteria are emphasized. There are so many small and unimportant decisions and activities that, if measured, will dilute the power of the matrix to measure meaningful participation.

The perception of participation is best measured on a formative basis. The perception of being included or excluded is a changing phenomenon and several measures at several different times are necessary to get an accurate picture of this phenomenon. The formative evaluation of this perception of participation can also be a very useful tool to increasing client participation. That is, clients probably have a very clear view of what is meaningful participation. When using the matrix as a planning mechanism, the planner should be careful to list, at each stage, the activities and behaviors that should not happen as well as those that should happen. For example, if the planner makes a decision that the non-participation of the practitioners in some phase of the utilization stage is critical, then restrictions should be made explicit.

Planners should also be aware that there are implications in this study for the need for careful selection and training of practitioners. Planners might be negligent with this selection and training aspect, since it could be conceived of as occurring before the initia-

tion stage. These activities, though, should take place in the initiation stage, and the clients might be included in both the selection and training processes.

Implementation

As with the comments for planners and evaluators, there are some suggestions that can be made based on the author's experience and the contents of this study that might set some very basic and simple parameters for field practitioners who wish to experiment with a participatory media development project. The suggestions will be presented using the five stages.

Initiation. Key to the whole process is finding practitioners who are committed to the process of participation. Increasing client participation is not a policy that can be mandated by decision makers. This policy requires the selection and training of people who are sensitive to the requirements of its implementation. The clients too may not be ready for participation, and so the initiation stage of a project should, if possible, concentrate just on participation without too much worry about the product.

The role of the practitioner who acts as an intermediary between the project and the bureaucracy is also a crucial factor. The people who actually work on the project will attract the most attention, but this other practitioner will be providing the institutional environment in which the project will take place. That environment is crucial to success, and the selection of this person and the training

of this person are very important to the project.

Design. A visual method for designing the media is extremely helpful. Stick figures, charts or diagrams can be developed easily by a group of participants, but working with a written or a spoken design is very complicated. The practitioners should not be too quick, either, to pick a simple or technically inferior material for the design. Clients may decide they want to try to produce something that is slick and professional. Even though their direct participation might be lower, clients may feel more pride in the professional final product.

The most important aspect at this stage appears to be the inclusion of client suggested issues and ideas into the design. The necessity for the inclusion of an agency's message does not seem to affect the process too greatly, but the clients must be encouraged and allowed to add their own messages and their own style to the design. The practitioners should focus on this aspect at this stage and facilitate the addition of these client issues and ideas.

Production. The participation of a large number of clients is easier and more appropriate at this stage than any other. The production can become a community event with many people participating as actors in the photography, film, television or audio tape. The actual technical details of production do not seem to be so important, but where possible clients should be involved in this phase too.

Utilization. The clients should be in control over this stage, but practitioners have to accept that their agencies require something to

come of their activities. Expending funds for a project that produces a product that is never used is difficult to justify. Setting criteria for the acceptability of a final product and clearly defining the basic parameters of distribution early in the project can usually solve this problem.

Evaluation. The nature of objective evaluation is non-participatory. Until designs that will both satisfy decision makers and be participative are designed, it is best to define the parameters early. If the clients are aware of the need for evaluation for the funds required by the project, the evaluation should not cause any disruption. But this awareness should be developed early. Research and development of participatory evaluation systems has begun,⁷² and these designs should be favored.

Further Research and Development

This study has presented three separate areas that could benefit from further research and development. They are the matrix, the benefits of participation and the resources necessary for participation. For the matrix, its use in a large number of projects will help to refine it. But particular attention should be paid to developing simple objective measures at each stage for cooperation and decision making. This might lead to some standard measures that will make the matrix more effective not only for planning and evaluation but for comparison of projects that had totally different goals and objectives.

There are many questions that are of interest in the sections

on benefits and resources that could profit from further research, but only four suggestions will be presented here for each. These eight questions, if researched, should produce the most useful information for the further development of the concept of participation.

Benefits.

1. What are the changes of attitude and behavior that take place in a practitioner because of a participatory project?
2. What are the changes of attitude and behavior that take place in a client because of a participatory project?
3. When compared with the results of a non-participatory project, is participation cost-effective?
4. Does the product of a participatory project lessen the perception of risk in the minds of the clients who use the media but were not part of the process of production to an extent significantly greater than a product of a non-participatory project?

Resources.

1. What are the qualities and skills of a practitioner that make a participatory process easier?
2. What are the qualities and skills of a person who acts as an intermediary between the project and bureaucracy that make the participatory process possible?
3. What changes in the operating procedure of a bureaucracy will help to facilitate the process of participation?
4. What is an effective training procedure for the practitioners and clients in a participatory project?

The author would like to add one final note. Every human being in the world is unique and special. Each individual has something valuable to add to the development process, and each has a right to participate in the decisions and events that affect his or her life. Client participation is an effective tool for development, but it is also an ethical statement. The ethics under which the development process takes place may very well become the ethics of the developed world of the future. What do we want that world to be like? It can be a world directed from above, or it can be a world where human beings have some power over the course of their lives. We should begin making that world now and not leave it to chance.

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³United Nations, Social Progress Through Community Development (New York, NY: United Nations Press, 1955), p. 2.

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⁵David Hapgood, ed., The Role of Popular Participation in Development (Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1968), p. 22.

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⁷John M. Cohen and Norman T. Uphoff, Rural Development Participation: Concepts and Measures for Project Design, Implementation and Evaluation (Ithaca, NY: Rural Development Committee, Center for International Studies, Cornell University, 1977), pp. 27-58.

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¹⁰Ibid., p. 335.

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¹²Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York, NY: Seabury Press, 1968), p. 73.

¹³Ibid., p. 59.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 53.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 81.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 89-90.

¹⁸Malcolm Knowles, The Modern Practice of Adult Education (New York, NY: Association Press, 1974), p. 79.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 41-43.

²¹Malcolm Knowles, The Adult Learner: A Neglected Species (Houston, TX: Gulf, 1973), pp. 32-33.

²²Gerry Nadel, "Guatemala," Atlantic, 238, no. 1, July 1976, p. 19.

²³Ibid., p. 20.

²⁴N.T. Uphoff and M.J. Esman, Local Organization for Rural Development: Analysis of Asian Experience (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, n.d.), p. 61.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 83-84.

²⁶Elliott R. Morss; John K. Hatch; Donald R. Mickelwait; and Charles F. Sweet, Strategies for Small Farmer Development: An Empirical Study of Rural Development Projects, A report prepared for the Agency for International Development under Contract AID/CM/ta-C-73-41, Vol. I (Washington, DC: Development Alternatives, Inc., May 1975), pp. 203-204.

²⁷Frances F. Piven, "Participation of Residents in Neighborhood Community-Action Programs," in Citizen Participation in Urban Development, Volume I: Concepts and Issues, ed. Hans B.C. Spiegel (Washington, DC: NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, 1968), p. 115.

²⁸Morss et al., p. 50.

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³¹Niccolo Machiavelli, The Prince (New York, NY: The Modern Library, n.d.), p. 18.

³²Cohen and Uphoff, p. 13.

³³Nicos P. Mouselis, Organization and Bureaucracy (Chicago, IL: Aldine Publishing, 1967), p. 38.

- ³⁴Budd L. Hall, "Participatory Research: An Approach for Change," Convergence, VIII, no. 2 (1975).
- ³⁵Morss et al., p. 93.
- ³⁶Ibid., p. 75.
- ³⁷Ibid., p. 76.
- ³⁸Ibid., p. 77.
- ³⁹Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Vol. I (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1944), p. 191.
- ⁴⁰Nat J. Colletta, "Participatory Research or Participation Putdown? Reflections on an Indonesian Experiment in Nonformal Education," Convergence, IX, no. 3 (1976):40.
- ⁴¹Ibid., p. 44.
- ⁴²Morss et al., p. 73.
- ⁴³Ward Hunt Goodenough, Cooperation in Change (New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963), p. 409.
- ⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 406-407.
- ⁴⁵Ibid., p. 238.
- ⁴⁶J.D. Fage, "Ghana," Encyclopedia Americana (New York, NY: Encyclopedia Americana Corp., Vol. 12, 1976), p. 715.
- ⁴⁷Andreas Fuglesang, Applied Communication in Developing Countries (Uppsala, Sweden: The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1973).
- ⁴⁸Charles Granston Richards, ed., The Provision of Popular Reading Materials (Paris: Unesco Press, 1959), Preface.
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- ⁵⁰B.J. Cain and John P. Comings, The Participatory Process: Producing Photo-Literature (Amherst, MA: Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts, 1977); and Patricio Barriga, et al., Fotonovela: Technical Note #13 (Amherst, MA: Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts, n.d.).
- ⁵¹Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre, Understanding Print: A Survey in Rural Lesotho of People's Ability to Understand Text and Illustrations (Lesotho: Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre); and Fuglesang, Applied Communications in Developing Countries.

⁵²Cain and Comings, pp. 5-6.

⁵³The source of information is the Bureau of Planning and Community Development, Troy, New York.

⁵⁴Cain and Comings.

⁵⁵James Hoxeng; Alberto Ochoa; and Valerie Ickis, Technical Note No. 10, Tabacundo: Battery-Powered Dialogue (Amherst, MA: Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts, n.d.).

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

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⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶⁷Dorothy Todd Henault, "Powerful Catalyst," Access #7, Winter 1971-1972 (Montreal, Canada: The National Film Board of Canada), pp. 3-10.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁹Debrah Barndt, "People Connecting with Structures: A Photographic and Contextual Exploration of the Conscientization Process in a Peruvian Literacy Program," Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1978.

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⁷¹Publicity pamphlets from the City Wide Mural Project and Goetz Gallery.

⁷²David C. Kinsey, "Participatory Evaluation in Nonformal Education," paper presented at the Lifelong Learning Research Conference for Researchers and Practitioners, Cooperative Extension Service, University of Maryland, January 10-11, 1979.

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A P P E N D I X I

C Control

Please answer these questions by placing an "X" in the box that represents your opinions or feelings after reading each statement once. That is, do you: 1-strongly agree, 2-agree, 3-are uncertain, 4-disagree, or 5-strongly disagree with the statement.

	1	2	3	4	5
	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1. People working together can clean up their neighborhood better than people working alone.					
2. If I take care of myself I can avoid illness.					
3. Trash in a vacant lot should be cleaned up by the people who live next to the lot.					
4. Whenever I get sick it is because of something I've done or not done.					
5. Most people in my neighborhood would be willing to help clean up the neighborhood.					
6. The only way to clean up a neighborhood is for each person to clean up his own property.					
7. I think it is important for my doctor and I to work as a team when deciding the best treatment for my illness.					
8. The County Health Department is taking care of the rat problem in my neighborhood.					
9. If I called the County Health Department about a rat problem, they would help me.					
10. People can work together to get their neighborhood cleaned up.					
11. I am directly responsible for my health.					
12. A neighborhood group can convince the City government to help solve a neighborhood problem.					
13. People's ill health results from their own carelessness.					
14. If I got together with my neighbors, the County Health Department would help us get rid of rats.					
15. When I feel ill I know it is because I have not been getting the proper exercise or eating right.					
16. Individuals solve problems not groups.					

* * * * *

Please answer these questions by placing an "X" next to the answer that you feel is correct.

1. Would you be willing to work in a neighborhood clean up? Yes _____ No _____.
2. Is your age: under 13 _____, 13-18 _____, 19-30 _____, over 30 _____.
3. Are you: Male _____, Female _____.

E

(Rudy Rat)

Please read the booklet that came with this questionnaire once and then answer these questions.

Please answer these questions by placing an "X" in the box that represents your opinions or feelings after reading each statement once. That is, do you: 1-strongly agree, 2-agree, 3-are uncertain, 4-disagree, or 5-strongly disagree with the statement?

	1 AGREE STRONGLY	2 AGREE	3 UNCERTAIN	4 DISAGREE	5 STRONGLY DISAGREE
1. This booklet is enjoyable to read.					
2. People working together can clean up their neighborhood better than people working alone.					
3. If I take care of myself I can avoid illness.					
4. Trash in a vacant lot should be cleaned up by the people who live next to the lot.					
5. I would like to show this booklet to someone else.					
6. The situations and events in this book are similar to ones in my own life.					
7. Whenever I get sick it is because of something I've done or not done.					
8. Most people in my neighborhood would be willing to help clean up the neighborhood.					
9. Someone else would enjoy reading this booklet.					
10. The only way to clean up a neighborhood is for each person to clean up his own property.					
11. I think it is important for my doctor and I to work as a team when deciding the best treatment for my illness.					
12. The County Health Department is taking care of the rat problem in my neighborhood.					
13. If I called the County Health Department about a rat problem, they would help me.					
14. I would like to read other booklets like this dealing with other health problems.					
15. People can work together to get their neighborhood cleaned up.					
16. I am directly responsible for my health.					
17. A neighborhood group can convince the City government to help solve a local problem.					
18. The people and places in this booklet are like the people and places in my neighborhood.					
19. People's ill health results from their own carelessness.					
20. If I got together with my neighbors, the County Health Department would help us get rid of rats.					
21. The information in this booklet is correct.					
22. When I feel ill I know it is because I have not been getting the proper exercise or eating right.					
23. Most people in my neighborhood would read this booklet if they received it in the mail.					
24. Individuals solve problems not groups.					

PLEASE ANSWER THE QUESTIONS ON THE OTHER SIDE!

E-1

Please answer these questions by placing an "X" next to the answer that you feel is correct. Please do not refer back to the booklet that you have just read.

1. Would you be willing to work in a neighborhood cleanup? Yes _____.
No _____.
2. Is your age: under 13 _____, 13-18 _____, 19-30 _____, over 30 _____.
3. Are you Male _____, Female _____.
4. Have you ever seen this booklet before? Yes _____, No _____.
5. Did you enjoy reading this booklet: a lot _____, a little _____, not very much _____, not at all _____.
6. Did you learn anything from reading this booklet? Yes _____, No _____.
7. This booklet says that rats came from: Russia _____, Africa _____, China _____, India _____.
8. Rats do not like milk: True _____, False _____.
9. In this booklet the name of the main character was: Fido _____, Judy _____, Rudy _____, Rat _____.
10. This booklet says that rats can eat lumber: True _____, False _____.

COMMENTS (optional):

E

(Photonovel)

Please read the booklet that came with this questionnaire once and then answer these questions.

Please answer these questions by placing an "X" in the box that represents your opinions or feelings after reading each statement once. That is, do you: 1-strongly agree, 2-agree, 3-are uncertain, 4-disagree, or 5-strongly disagree with the statement?

	1 AGREE STRONGLY	2 AGREE	3 UNCERTAIN	4 DISAGREE	5 STRONGLY DISAGREE
1. This booklet is enjoyable to read.					
2. People working together can clean up their neighborhood better than people working alone.					
3. If I take care of myself I can avoid illness.					
4. Trash in a vacant lot should be cleaned up by the people who live next to the lot.					
5. I would like to show this booklet to someone else.					
6. The situations and events in this book are similar to ones in my own life.					
7. Whenever I get sick it is because of something I've done or not done.					
8. Most people in my neighborhood would be willing to help clean up the neighborhood.					
9. Someone else would enjoy reading this booklet.					
10. The only way to clean up a neighborhood is for each person to clean up his own property.					
11. I think it is important for my doctor and I to work as a team when deciding the best treatment for my illness.					
12. The County Health Department is taking care of the rat problem in my neighborhood.					
13. If I called the County Health Department about a rat problem, they would help me.					
14. I would like to read other booklets like this dealing with other health problems.					
15. People can work together to get their neighborhood cleaned up.					
16. I am directly responsible for my health.					
17. A neighborhood group can convince the City government to help solve a local problem.					
18. The people and places in this booklet are like the people and places in my neighborhood.					
19. People's ill health results from their own carelessness.					
20. If I got together with my neighbors, the County Health Department would help us get rid of rats.					
21. The information in this booklet is correct.					
22. When I feel ill I know it is because I have not been getting the proper exercise or eating right.					
23. Most people in my neighborhood would read this booklet if they received it in the mail.					
24. Individuals solve problems not groups.					

PLEASE ANSWER THE QUESTIONS ON THE OTHER SIDE!

E-2

Please answer these questions by placing an "X" next to the answer that you feel is correct. Please do not refer back to the booklet that you have just read.

1. Would you be willing to work in a neighborhood cleanup? Yes _____.
No _____.
2. Is your age: under 13 _____, 13-18 _____, 19-30 _____, over 30 _____.
3. Are you Male _____, Female _____.
4. Have you ever seen this booklet before? Yes _____, No _____.
5. Did you enjoy reading this booklet: a lot _____, a little _____, not very much _____, not at all _____.
6. Did you learn anything from reading this booklet? Yes _____, No _____.
7. The vacant lot in this booklet was owned by: James _____, George _____, the City _____, someone else _____.
8. James had been working at the factory for two years longer than George had: True _____, False _____.
9. In this booklet someone says that the unemployment payments are about: \$100 _____, \$110 _____, \$90 _____, \$70 _____ per week.
10. This booklet says that poison is the best way to kill rats: True _____, False _____.
11. Did you recognize any of the people or places in this booklet? Yes _____, No _____.

COMMENTS (optional):

A P P E N D I X I I

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Troy Project

Bonnie Cain, Center for International Education
Steve Frantz, New York State Department of Health
Karen Kalijian, New York State Department of Health
Karl Westphal, New York State Department of Health
Garland Yates, Troy Intercity Neighborhood Council
John Dickson, Troy Intercity Neighborhood Council
Rohn Hein, Neighborhood Action Council of Troy

New England Farm Workers Project

Bonnie Cain, Center for International Education

Mensaje Campesino

Bill Smith, Academy for International Development
Jim Hoxeng, United States Agency for International Development

Peru Project

Debrah Barndt, International Council of Adult Education

Los Angeles Mural Project

Joe Gonzales, Goez Gallery

A P P E N D I X I I I

STATE OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
MEMORANDUM

October 4, 1978

To: Doctor Frantz
From: Mr. Therriault
Subject: Analysis of Survey Results

I have completed the analysis of the results of your recent survey comparing the effectiveness of the Photonovel with the Rudy Rat pamphlet. I will summarize the results in the various subgroups you indicated in our last meeting on the subject. All analysis utilized the Chi-Square Test. For those questions asked of those who received material and also the controls a 3 x 2 contingency table was analyzed while a 2 x 2 contingency table was analyzed for those questions only asked on the questionnaire accompanying the Rudy Rat pamphlet or Photonovel. For the purpose of analysis, the proportions agreeing to a particular statement were compared with uncertain responses, disagreements and no answers combined into a non agreement group.

If you have any questions please contact me.

Demography (Questions 18, 19 and I)

There was no significant difference in the age distribution of the 3 groups when dichotomized into less than or equal to 30 and over 30 years old. There was no overall difference in the sex distribution among the 3 groups. However, when analyzed further it is found that the controls and Rudy Rat group were not significantly different from each other but when combined did differ significantly from the Photonovel group. (controls 46% male, RR 51% male, Photonovel 26% male) There was no significant difference in the proportion of respondents who had seen the particular booklet before between the Rudy Rat group and the Photonovel group.

Attitude towards product (Questions A, B, D, E, G, H, J and K)

The only significant difference between the Rudy Rat readers and Photonovel readers were in the answers to Questions E and G. Among

the Rudy Rat group 54% agreed that they would like to read other books like it dealing with other health problems compared to 79% of the Photonovel group. When asked whether they felt the information in the booklet was correct, 91% of the RR group agreed while only 64% of the Photonovel group agreed; a significant difference.

Cultural reference (Questions C and F)

A significant difference was seen between the 2 groups in the proportion agreeing that the situations and events in the booklet were similar to ones in their own life (60% Photonovel, 26% RR). No difference was observed in the proportion agreeing that the people and places in the booklet were like people and places in their neighborhood.

Internality (Questions 2, 4, 7, 11, 13 and 15)

Only 1 significant difference was observed in this group of questions. The proportion agreeing that if they take care of themselves, illness can be avoided differed significantly among the 3 groups (60% controls, 81% RR and 45% Photonovel). When analyzed further it is seen that RR and controls do not differ significantly but when combined do differ significantly from the Photonovel group.

Attitude toward community (Questions 1, 5, 10 and 12)

No significant differences in the responses to any of these questions is found.

Attitude toward the individual (Questions 3, 6 and 16)

All three questions in this grouping had significantly different proportions who agreed. The proportion who felt that trash in a vacant lot should be cleaned up by people who lived next to the lot was overall significantly different (controls 21%, RR 46%, Photonovel 31%). The Rudy Rat group was significantly different from the controls but the Photonovel group was not different from the controls and RR group combined.

The proportion who felt that the only way to clean up a neighborhood was for each person to clean up his own property differed significantly among the 3 groups (controls 78%, RR 66%, Photonovel 50%). Upon further analysis it was seen that the controls and RR group did not differ significantly but when combined differed significantly from the Photonovel group.

In response to the statement "individuals solve problems not groups," the 3 subgroups differed significantly in the proportion

agreeing (controls 24%, RR 20%, Photonovel 2%). The RR group was not different from the controls but when combined they differed significantly from the Photonovel group.

Attitude toward the County H.D. (Questions 8, 9, and 14)

No significant differences in response to questions related to attitudes toward the County Health Department were observed.

Willingness (Question 17)

No difference in the proportion of respondents indicating a willingness to work in a neighborhood cleanup was seen.

Learning (Questions L, M, N and O)

Not analyzed.

